'His Dominion shall be from Sea to Sea'

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4

JULY-AUGUST 1955 · VOL. XXXIII

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To study and assess the religious situation throughout the world.

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World Dominion

An International Review of Christian Progress

JULY-AUGUST 1955

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World Dominion

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A new act on the world's stage

ON ANOTHER PAGE of this issue will be found an article entitled: "Christianity, Communism, and the Asian Revolution," by Professor Kitagawa. Since that article was written there has been held the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandoeng (Bandung) in Java.

It was a remarkable gathering: not so much for concrete political results, which, in any event, we are not immediately concerned with here, as for its general significance. It was the appearance on the world's stage of a new act, the mobilization of fresh and largely untried forces, the meeting of nations in an unprecedented setting.

In sheer size of the countries represented, Bandoeng makes the conferences of the West look like a local get-together in the borough park. Twenty-nine countries sent delegates, and the total population there represented was not less than the staggering total of 1,400,000,000 peoples, about one-thousand-million of these being in India and China. Africa, it is true, had little part in it, only Egypt and Ethiopia, Libya, Sudan and Liberia and the Gold Coast, being present. There were Communist countries, members of the British Commonwealth, one member (Turkey) of that peculiarly western body NATO, and even just one small State, Lebanon, with a slight Christian majority among its population of under 1½ million people. Israel, however, was not there.

It is a sobering reflection that among these twenty-nine nations there may be guessed very roughly, to be under fifty million (48 million) Christians. Of these some 6 million are in the African territories represented, and the rest, namely about 42 million, scattered among the 1,350 million peoples of Asia. Of these 42 million, nearly 10 million are in India, and 18 million are in the Philippines. The remaining 14 million are scattered over the Far East, including China. Moreover, of the grand total of 48 million, 27 million are Roman Catholic, 7 million of the Orthodox and other Eastern churches, and 14 million of the Protestant churches.

When we talk about the Younger Churches in Asia, of their strength and weakness, leadership, evangelistic zeal, ministry, and organization, it is really of only a fraction of this numerically insignificant minority of which we speak.

It is just as well to have such facts as these constantly in mind. There are speakers and writers who,

in treating of the Church in Asia, use words which give a wholly false impression. By dwelling on accomplishment, they ignore the unaccomplished. By talking much of quality, and the place of small minorities, they hide the mighty dimensions of this tremendous canvas. By exalting progress, they conceal the unending distances of the journey still ahead. Yet it is wholly true that this numerically tiny Church is, and must be, the hope for the evangelization of Asia.

Many wrong things can be carelessly said about the Bandoeng Conference. It was not, of course, a well-prepared and planned conference in the sense that it produced, or was intended to produce, an iron-and-steel community, or a treaty of alliance, or a set of regulations on the navigation of the eastern seas. It had too many discordant elements in its midst for this. But it did tackle bravely many questions. Its ten principles of "good-neighbourliness" are a discernible improvement on the Five-point Indo-Chinese formula previously much advertised in Asia. It was to be expected that it would condemn colonialism, but it did so in moderate terms, doubtless not without remembering that such a shadowy piece of autonomy as the Mongolian People's Republic was not even represented at the conference.

Does Bandoeng mean an increased anti-westernism which might seriously prejudice the endeavours of missions? It is hard to say. Mr. Chou En-lai was moderate in his attitude and statements. But it is noteworthy that the intensity of anti-British and anti-American propaganda from Peking has not been relaxed. The implications of this are significant.

It passed the resolutions about human rights and peace expected of such a body—although the Chinese had some reservations on the former. Surprisingly enough, however, it did not remain satisfied merely with talking about freedom from want: it had a good deal to say for liberty and against totalitarianism. It was not a walk-over for anyone, India or China. Neither was it unreasonably nationalistic. It was primarily a vast, a unique, and an impressive demonstration of self-consciousness.

That self-consciousness is shared by the churches amid those teeming populations, and the question is: knowing that, how can we help them in their task of evangelization?

Many different answers can be given. Missionaries are needed, not, perhaps, floods of them, but plenty of the right ones. There are still wholly untouched areas, and there are many, many tasks still to be done by missionaries who will work in a lowly, unassertive way as servants of the Church. There is still a lot to be said and done about the ways in which the Gospel should be spread, and every reader of *World Dominion* should study what Dr. McGavran has written in his new book[1] about the contrast between "People Movements" and the "Mission Station Approach." There is the question of what kind of a church can be best used by God for this great end, and how to produce it out of our multitudinous denominations, with

(1) *Bridges of God*, by D. A. McGavran. Price 7s. 6d. Published by the World Dominion Press, 59, Bryanston Street, Marble Arch, London, W.1.

titles strange and rare to eastern ears.

What is the Church doing in China? Should missions look forward to a long future in India? What lessons are to be learned from failure and defeat? Is the existing spirit of progress, economic and social, going to aid or hinder the testimony? What do citizens of Asia who come to the West think of our Christianity? What part have our great missionary philanthropic institutions still to play? What do our catch-phrases—"partnership," "respect for persons," "wholeness of man" or "full salvation," mean in the vivid awakening of the Orient?

These questions crowd in on us hourly. They cry aloud for answers, and the cry comes from the eastern world itself. Yet they will not be answered without much prayer, thought and work, without sacrifice and without consecration. And they cannot be answered by us here, and by them there, each in his small corner, but by all of us together, the Church humbled before God. They demand everything we have got, the light of the Bible, the wisdom of the wise, the insight and experience of the Church universal, and, not least, the simple prayers of common folk.

Witnessing for Christ

Who cares?

Spring Conference of the Surrey Congregational Youth Council

J. E. NEWPORT

"EVANGELISM" is the current theme amongst young Congregationalists. The Central Youth Council, which consists of representatives of the youth of Congregational churches in England and Wales, has taken as its task this year the discovery of ways in which youth work in the churches can be more consciously done "with the purpose of winning young people for Christ and of enabling them to 'grow in the love and service of Christ.'" The young people of Surrey decided, a year ago, that this spring they wanted guidance on evangelism from their Spring Conference. Accordingly from 22-24 April nearly two hundred young people assembled at the Redhill and Reigate Congregational churches; they were fed by the members of the churches, and given beds in the homes of church-members; they conducted their own business, and engaged in the usual wild round of frivolity that characterizes youth conferences. But their main object was to study the theory and practice of "witnessing for

Christ," and they gave themselves to it with gusto.

Who cares ?—God does

The Chair was taken by the Rev. R. O. Latham, Education Secretary of the London Missionary Society; the Lecturer was the Rev. Philip Cliff, Minister of Elmwood Congregational Church, Birmingham. In his first lecture, entitled: "Who cares?—God does," he pointed out that you cannot give away what you haven't got, you cannot awake faith in others unless you have faith yourself. After the lecture, the conference broke up into fifteen discussion groups, each led by a young man or girl aged between 18 and 22, who had been briefed beforehand. Each group discussed the same question, but under a different guise: one had to decide how they would explain the Christian faith to Malayan terrorists, another had to speak to Communist shop-stewards, another to a youth group, another to a Sunday-school class, and one at least to a party of invading Martians! In reporting back, it was evident that each group had considered its constituency, but there was no doubt that the basic message of each was the same, that of the caring love of God-in-Christ for His fallen world.

Who cares ?—the Church can

The second lecture was brief: "Who cares?—the Church can"; then the Conference split into three Commissions, on "Caring for the children," "Caring for the young people," and "Caring for the outsider." Most of the members under eighteen, being involved already in Sunday-school teaching or Youth Club committees, joined the first two. The largest Commission, however, was the third, led by Philip Cliff, who described the exciting visitation campaigns which he has led at Elmwood, building up a church of 300 members from new housing estates, in a converted mansion that can only seat 180 at each service.

Who cares ?—I must

The third lecture, "Who cares?—I must," challenged the young Christians to personal witness in their churches, their homes and their jobs. This was followed by discussion of such questions as: "What will you do with those whose hearts you have touched?" Again the answers showed careful thinking and real understanding of the problems. The Conference closed with a service of dedication and Holy Communion, led by the Rev. H. W. Theobald, minister of Redhill church, which made a deep impression on all who attended it. In August, many of these young people will be joining in a "Work-Campaign" at Wivelsfield, Sussex, where, in conjunction with the Sussex Young Congregationalists, they will decorate the buildings of a small church, and conduct a mission to the neighbourhood.

Mobile Youth Leadership Training

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND Youth Committee, by means of a grant from the King George VI Memorial Foundation, is able to carry out an experiment to provide training for youth leadership for isolated areas in Scotland. A Mobile Training Unit consisting of Land Rover and caravan with camping equipment, will tour remote areas of the Highlands and provide training classes and demonstrations for leaders in youth clubs, fellowships, and Sunday - school teachers.

Christianity, Communism and the Asian Revolution

JOSEPH M. KITAGAWA

ONE OF THE MOST URGENT tasks for Christians, both in the West and the East, is to attempt to understand the nature of the Asian revolution, both historically and in its contemporary setting, and to try to develop some kind of Christian perspective in this nebulous but important situation.

Professor Hans J. Morgenthau in his book, *In Defense of the National Interest*, observes that although the political objectives in Europe and Asia may be the same, the threats we face and the measures to be taken are fundamentally different. He points out that in Europe Christianity faces Russian imperialism, while in Asia it faces genuine revolution. Once again we are faced with the fact that it is impossible to stop the dynamic national and social revolutions in Asia with military power alone (pp. 201-202).

Although our concern is primarily religious and not political, in discussing the problem of Christianity and Communism, we too have to keep in mind the basic difference between the European situation and that in Asia.

Revolutions in the West

There is a tendency on the part of Westerners to be suspicious of the present revolutionary changes throughout Asia; they tend to overlook equally fundamental changes in their own development. Certainly, the modern West cannot be understood adequately without reference to a series of revolutions which have taken place since the sixteenth century: the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution, and the rise of the United States and of Soviet Russia. Nor is the revolution merely a phenomenon of the past in the West.

The political, technological and moral revolutions in the aftermath of the Second World War, according to Morgenthau (pp. 52-63) have changed the conditions under which the Western world lived for centuries. For instance, the European state system which has existed since the sixteenth century is being replaced by two great power blocs, namely, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The technological revolution has brought about radical changes in transportation, communication and warfare.

By far the most significant from our point of view is the break-up of the so-called European civilization into two hostile political camps which no longer share the same moral principles and religious be-

liefs. Thus, the West is sharply divided along ideological lines between Communism and Democracy, each claiming universal validity for its system. It is understandable, then, that both Communist and democratic blocs try to influence nations outside their orbits, notably those in Asia which have come to be known, significantly, as the "uncommitted world."

Characteristics of the Eastern world

It may be helpful to discuss briefly the main characteristics of Asian culture. Firstly, historically, Asia did not experience a renaissance or enlightenment, in the Western sense, until the nineteenth century. Only in the last fifty years has the Orient witnessed the decline of the Manchu dynasty and the rise and decline of the Kuomintang in China, and the political independence of India and the South-east Asian nations. To-day, however, Easterners are impatient; they often forget that it took many hundred years for the West to establish a society based not on might and tyranny but on the ideal of the dignity of the common man. And in spite of Asia's efforts to bring about reforms, old ideas do not die easily.

Secondly, sociologically Asian society is built on hierarchical principles; the unit of Oriental society is not the individual, nor even married couples. The unit is the family, relatives, community and tribe. In spite of industrialization in urban areas, a great part of Asia is still in the stage of "feudalistic" rural collectivism, economically and socially. Furthermore, there is little unity between urban and rural areas in the Orient, even to-day. The urban cosmopolitan centres in Asia have become industrialized in recent years, while rural areas, for the most part, still retain the traditional cultural, religious and social patterns of old days.

Thirdly, Asia has not experienced a separation of religion and the State. In fact, religion and culture have been closely identified.

During the nineteenth century, there was a gradual but rather widespread realization in the Orient that (a) all Eastern culture was threatened by the advance of the West, and (b) Eastern culture was disintegrating from within. The combined effect of the advance of the West and the disintegration of Eastern culture from within exerted a tremendous influence in all aspects of life. And Christianity, particularly Protestantism, played an important rôle in this development.

Meeting of East and West

For our purpose, the contact between East and West in the modern period may be observed in three stages. At first, the West took the initiative and the East a defensive attitude; Asiatic nations expanded their material resources with the help of Western civilization. During the second stage, Asia welcomed the West with the hope of mutual friendship and co-operation. During this period, a group of young political thinkers in Asia, who had been influenced by Western ideas, spread the gospel of Western science and democracy. They rather naïvely believed that the West would welcome them on an equal footing if the East became "civilized." Finally, in the third stage, the East has begun to assert

itself. The numerous nationalist movements in Asia, which were originally inspired and stimulated by Western nationalism, have begun to oppose the old idea of co-operation with the West.

The contact between Christianity and non-Christian religions may also be seen in three stages. At first, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Eastern religions met the advance of Christian missions with a defensive attitude. Christianity was interpreted as a cultural movement, and some Asiatic religious leaders expressed admiration for the teaching of Jesus. In the second stage, non-Christian leaders in the East hoped for genuine co - operation between Christianity and non-Christian religions; they regarded the World Congress of Religions as a sort of "League of Religions," corresponding to the "League of Nations." During recent years, a marked change has taken place in the non-Christian attitude toward Christianity. Since the 1930's, there has been a gradual realization in Asia that Western culture itself may be disintegrating. From their distance, many Easterners feel that Christianity is not coping adequately with cultural change in the West. And there is a marked resurgence of the belief that Christianity is probably inferior to the alternatives which they themselves can offer.

Values and history

To understand cultural change aright, a balance must be preserved between "values" and "history." Ideas and values change with the passing of time and as a result of external influences, but there is no such thing as a transformation of values completely divorced from history. A change in values involves both transformation and preservation. This is true in any culture, although some resist changes more than others. Religious symbols are integrally related to cultural values and history. Both iconoclasts and traditionalists tend to overlook these fundamental relationships.

With this principle of cultural change in mind, let us analyse the development of the so - called "younger churches," that is, the Christian churches in the traditionally non-Christian East.

The younger churches

In the first stage of the contact between East and West, there were three kinds of attitudes toward Western influence among Asiatics. The first was a positive reaction to things Western by a small group of iconoclastic young people in the urban areas. The second was a negative reaction by a small group of traditionalists. The third was the indifferent reaction of the large majority of the masses. Western Christian missionaries tended to reach the iconoclastic elements in the urban areas, who were willing to impose new Western values and a new religious faith on Eastern history. This attempted synthesis produced, in some places in India, for instance, the so-called "mission compounds" where the nationalist Christian lived in cultural seclusion from surrounding society.

Through its failure to recognize that the appropriation of an alien value or religious faith by any culture requires some consideration of the emotional values of history, the mission compound approach hindered the subsequent develop-

ment of the younger churches in Asia. There are, and there must be, various alternatives in the transformation of value-history relationships. However, the mission compounds, which accepted *in toto* Western Christian faith, institutions, and symbols, avoided encountering possible alternatives by isolating themselves from their cultural environment. For all practical purposes, the younger churches in the East before World War II may be characterized as cultural islands of the West. The Christian faith in Asia has not everywhere been a "challenged faith," challenged by other possible alternatives.[1] As the Indian Christians state: "Having never been in the habit of concerning itself with contemporary social affairs, and therefore not having been educated to relate its message to contemporary events . . . [the younger church] stands to-day as an ineffective spectator of the contemporary scene."

What, then, is the contemporary situation in Asia to which Eastern Christians must address themselves?

A threefold revolution in Asia

Professor W. MacMahon Ball[2] calls our attention to the threefold revolution in contemporary Asia. First, it is a revolt against colonialism; second, it is a social and economic revolution; and third, it is a determination that Asia will be its own master.

The crucial character of the situation may be illustrated by the fact that in South and East Asia alone considerably more than a billion people live to-day under governments different in type from those of several years ago. Thus, they are ruled by relatively inexperienced governments, facing almost insurmountable internal problems.

In this situation, it is unfortunate that Asians have yet to learn that they have much in common despite all their differences. At present, there is little sense of a shared destiny. What we find is a number of Asian States, recently freed from colonial domination and jealously conscious of each other's existence. The emotional nationalism of new nations in Asia is a hindrance to the emergence of some sort of Pan-Asianism.

Also, in spite of their recently gained political independence, Western influences have left deeper cultural imprints than Asian nationalists are willing to acknowledge. Psychologically, however, Asians are sensitive to what they consider the residue of Western colonial interests.

By the same token, to Asians, who are preoccupied with their immediate problems, world-wide issues such as the post-war Communist expansion in Eastern Europe seem very remote. For them the real fear is colonialism, and not the advent of Communism in Asia.

Of course, no one can predict the future of Communism in Asia. Chinese Communism, if it chooses, might be able to pursue a foreign policy "which is determined not by the interests of the Soviet Union . . . but by the traditional interests of China."[3] Also, it is significant

(1) This remark does not, of course, apply to a large part of China where there was the challenge of Communism from 1926 *all the time*.—(ED.)

(2) *Nationalism and Communism in East Asia*, p. 1.

(3) H. J. Morgenthau: *In Defense of National Interest*, p. 205.

to note that the nationalistic character of Chinese Communism may find its policy in conflict with other Asian Communist groups, which, too, are passionately nationalistic.

Communism as a new religion in Asia

But a discussion of Asian Communism cannot be complete unless we, as Christians, recognize it as a new religious force which captures the minds of Asian youths. This understanding of Asian Communism will keep us from falling into the trap of a simple cause-and-effect theory, such as that "poverty is the cause of Communism." In fact, MacMahon Ball emphasizes that "it is not poverty, but the way people come to feel about it, that may create Communists." He further states: "The impact of the West has destroyed the old religious and family and village loyalties, and robbed life of its spiritual comfort and purpose. People ask for a new code, a new certainty, a new religion, and some of them find it in Communism" (p. 198). Basically, "Communism is not the same as the social revolution which is shaking . . . . our complacent world of traditional values. Nor have Communists brought it about. What the Communists claim to do is to explain the revolution and to have the right of leading it to a successful end." [4]

Undoubtedly there are many ways to counteract the advance of Communism. It is clear, however, that emotional anti-Communism is not enough. There must be an alternative explanation of the revolution which reflects the life-experience of Asians. A naïve, uncritical anti-Communism often drives people to alliance with groups of anti-Communists and counter-revolutionists, disregarding the basis of their stand. In this sense, Christians in Asia are on the spot with regard to at least two anti-Communist groups which invite Christian co-operation.

First is the group of traditionalists who are against any kind of social change, and who may be characterized as "sentimental utopians looking backward." They are avowedly anti-Communists, but they are also against genuine social revolution. The lack of alternatives has often driven Western statesmen to seek temporary alliance with anti-Communist but reactionary politicians in Asia. However, Christians should not uncritically accept these advocates of the *status quo* simply because they are against Communism.

A second anti-Communist force in Asia is found in the non-Christian religions. They raise complex questions which Christians, both in Asia and in the West, have not faced squarely as yet. Already many people, Christian and non-Christian, have voiced the opinion that the breakdown of Confucianism opened the way to Communist penetration in China, and there is some truth in this observation. But this view has been exaggerated by those Asians and Westerners who are not sympathetic with the Christian world mission because, they assert, Christian missionary work aids the disintegration of the traditional social, cultural and religious structure of Asia and thus

(4) *Communism and the Social Revolution in India*, ed. by Devanandan and Thomas, p. 7.

indirectly helps the Communist cause.

Also Christians have been sharply divided into two groups in their approach to non-Christian religions. This is dramatically illustrated in the writings of Hocking and Kraemer. Thus, for example, some Christians regard Islam as an ally working toward the same religious cause; other Christians consider their relation to non-Christians at best as an "armed truce." The ambiguity of the Christian approach to non-Christian religions has serious implications in the contemporary world.

Christian and non-Christian approach to Asian revolution

In to-day's world, religion cannot exist apart from the power struggle of the contemporary world. A close political alliance between the West and non-Christian nations sometimes proves to be embarrassing to Christians. For instance, because Western political leaders play ball with their governments, some Islamic leaders may expect Western Christians to join forces with them in a religious alliance to fight Communism. Indeed, this is no longer purely an academic question in to-day's world. It is not easy to communicate to non-Christians why Christians feel called to co-operate with them in certain activities, while in other activities they must part their ways. And yet, it is becoming more apparent that Christians must tell their non-Christian brethren quite simply where they can co-operate and where they cannot.

Furthermore, Christians must recognize that there are all kinds of temperaments and motivations represented in non-Christian religious groups, just as in the Christian fold. To-day in Asia, there are many Hindus and Muslims who advocate "back to religion" movements as a protest against social change. Others try to identify themselves with traditional or indigenous religions now that they are emancipated from Western colonial powers. However, Christians must learn to distinguish these groups from men and women who, for genuinely religious reasons, try to relate non-Christian religions to the contemporary social and cultural changes. Unfortunately, Christians have not learned how to work with this enlightened and forward-looking group of non-Christians. This was evident in the Indian Christians' attitude toward Gandhi; some Indian Christians went all-out for the Mahatma, regarding him as an "unbaptized Christian saint," while others did not think it fit to co-operate with him because he was not a Christian. And to-day some thinking non-Christians are issuing a genuine invitation to Christians to work with them to present a constructive alternative to the Communist interpretation of the contemporary Asian revolution. How to react to this invitation is probably one of the most serious tests facing Christians in Asia.

A Christian alternative

One weakness of the Christian churches in Asia is the fact that they are too much like carbon copies of the churches in the West. Also, in many parts of Asia the younger churches reflect the ethos of the old order of their own society, having made inevitable compromises with vested interests

and colonial interests. For historic reasons, many Asiatic Christians are conservative, not only theologically but socially and politically, often leaning heavily toward the *status quo*. Many of the Asian Christians who are products of the mission compound feel closer emotionally to Christians of their sister churches in the West than to their non-Christian neighbours, and thus find it more comfortable to stay on the fringe of Asiatic society. They tend to resent the revolutionary changes around them, although they reluctantly recognize that the good old days are gone.

However, there are also national Christians who are courageously facing the revolution in Asia. At the Bangkok Conference held in 1949 the church leaders of Asia stated: "In those countries where the possibility exists of transforming the social order democratically, so that the means employed may not destroy the end of justice, *a true social democracy* may be the answer to Communism." Such a possibility exists in Asia, with the exception of China and parts of South-east Asia. The choice is not either bread or freedom; they can have a society where both bread and freedom can be secured.

The development of a social democracy in predominantly non-Christian Asia presents serious difficulties. Significantly, the Indian Ecumenical Study Conference upheld the principle of "a secular State in which real religious freedom and real respect for the conscience are accepted by all [Christians and non-Christians]."[5] Indian Christian leaders speak for all thinking Asian Christians when they state that it is possible to have such a secular State in a deeply religious society.

> If the secular state is to be a reality . . . Christians must not only demand full freedom for the propagation of the faith, but . . . Christians must learn to initiate activities and schemes for social welfare and social change which may be adopted by men of good will even if they do not accept the faith which inspires such activities.

A third way

If a true social democracy is the answer to Communism in Asia, it must find its own political expression. Asian democracy does not mean the sheer transplantation of a Western political and economic structure in Asia. Rather, democratic principles must be transplanted in terms of the social and economic facts of Asian life. Today, by necessity, the new States of Asia are taking more initiative in industrialization and social betterment than is the case in the United States, for example, because of a lack of capital and technical knowledge among private operators. Also, only the government can compete with the age-old social structure and cultural patterns, both of which stubbornly resist change. In the midst of all these difficulties, the new governments are expected to work miracles if they are to have the continued support of the masses. Faced with this seemingly impossible task, some Asian political leaders may be tempted to resort to authoritarian means in order to achieve democratic ends. But democratic ends will be achieved in the end only by democratic means.

(5) *Indian Journal of Theology*, November, 1952, p. 55.

The Asian nations must realize to-day that authoritarian nationalism, without taking into account the interests of neighbouring nations, will soon come to bankruptcy. They will have to share resources, natural and human, to help solve mutual problems. In the long run, the future of Asia lies in a democratic co-operation among Asian States.

In the meantime, the fact that Asian States do not seem to commit themselves either to the Communist world or to the free world is a necessity, from their standpoint, taking into account the political realities of Asia. Negatively, this might be interpreted as a refusal to take sides; positively, it would mean the establishment of a third way, an alternative to Western democracy or Communism.

Whether or not the Christian faith can give spiritual resources to an Asian Third Way will determine ultimately the destiny of Christianity in Asia. In the meantime, Asian Christians feel "bound to suggest to Western friends who had their more-or-less violent revolutions a century or so ago, that they should show some understanding of the social travail through which [Asia] is bound to pass for some time to come." [6]

(6) *Indian Journal of Theology*, November, 1952, p. 54

The Fellowship of the Gospel*

THIS LITTLE BOOK examines a question of much importance, namely that of the limits and merits of co-operation among Christians. Mr. Colquhoun says this worries "Evangelicals in all parts of the world": his book may allay some of their worries. He shows very clearly, after examining what the New Testament says first about "fellowship" and then about "separation," that there is too often a tendency to "separate" on quite inadequate grounds. In reaching this conclusion he gives away no points of principle.

He is mainly concerned with the attitudes of individual Christians, and the Evangelical Alliance has traditionally always been an alliance of individuals. It is the more significant, therefore, to find Mr. Colquhoun writing that "*The New Testament attaches a high value to the doctrine of the visible church.*" (The italics are his.)

* By Frank Colquhoun. Published by the Evangelical Alliance, 30, Bedford Place, London, W.C.1. Price 2/-.

Christian education in East Africa

B. A. FLETCHER

Introduction

IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA, as in Britain itself, formal education of the western type began with the work of Christian missions. Yet the work of these missions is barely a century old, and the influence of education has only been felt to a marked degree in the last fifty years. To-day many different denominations are at work, and Christianity comes to the African in as different forms as those presented by the Seventh Day Adventists and the Roman Catholics. This is often confusing to the African, and yet in the face of a new paganism like Mau Mau or an old rationalism like Communism the work of the Christian missions even in its great disparity does stand for a solid influence of immense and growing strength. As a result of this work it is not too much to say that, to-day, education, with all the aspects of life that it touches, is in a condition of headlong change and development in East Africa.

The setting of educational work in East Africa to-day is very different from that presented in 1855. The speed and intensity of the impact of modern civilization on Africa must be seen to be understood, yet there are still a few who believe that it is a mistake to educate the African; that he is happy in his ignorance and should be left in it. Those who hold this view fail to realize that civilization is not leaving the African in his ignorance; that Africa is on the march and new influences are crowding in every day. If education does not bring the right influences to bear, then the wrong ones will certainly have the whole field to themselves and disaster is certain.

There have been certain clear milestones in the advance of education in East Africa. In the first twenty-five years of this century the provision of mission-schools was always an important part of missionary activity, and it was only very slowly in this period that the Government began to assume some responsibility for assisting missionary enterprise. Then in 1925 the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee produced a Report which was to guide British educational policy in Africa for twenty-five years. The chief effect of this Report was that Colonial governments now began to direct all education in a territory. Everywhere central advisory boards and district education committees began to indicate

that a new force in education was at work.

Then in 1951 the Secretary of State once again sent Colonial Office missions to East and West Africa to examine the progress made since the 1925 Report and to suggest the broad outlines of a creative policy for the next twenty-five years.

The reports of these two missions formed the working papers of a Conference held at Cambridge in 1952 attended by African and European delegates from all the British African territories. The purpose of the Conference was to place on record the best views that could be formalized from such a responsible body so as to help all those with responsibility in shaping educational policy. As a result, in 1953, a volume called *African Education* was published by the Oxford University Press. This quickly proved a "best seller" and its first edition, particularly in Africa, was soon sold out. When I visited East Africa in the autumn of 1953 I found copies everywhere in all the East African territories, and saw also that it had already begun to produce marked creative developments in many directions at once. Some of these developments I now want to describe, and the growing points of Christian education in East Africa seem to me to be seven. The first three represent broad changes of emphasis that may take a decade to unfold. They are:

1. From mission to indigenous church.
2. From isolation to collaboration with the State.
3. From the salvation of the individual to the salvation of society.

The second group of three represent the permanent tasks of the Christian Church in its educational work. They are:

4. The remedial task.
5. The creative task.
6. The militant task.

And finally there is a specially important task in East Africa to which the Christian ethic can make a decisive contribution, and this is the problem of the plural society. So the seventh growing point is:

7. The development of interracial partnership.

1. From mission to indigenous church

It was a fortunate fact for East Africa that in many places Christianity came before either administrator or trader, and that in the early days it was associated so closely with the abolition of slavery and the ending of the cruelty of inter-tribal wars. So it came less as the foreign and unwelcome accompaniment of colonizing power than has sometimes been the case elsewhere. Nevertheless, so long as the main source of mission funds and personnel was Europe and America, Christianity came in as a foreign and external thing. But for many years now mission stations have been giving place to local churches and this process is both profoundly educational itself and exercises a deep influence on the education that grows out of church membership.

The place at which I stayed longest in East Africa was in the little Buganda village of Kako, overlooking the blue waters of Lake Victoria. Here the transfor-

mation seemed complete. You had a large church, built in an African style, with an African vicar and churchwardens—a church packed on Sundays by those following the Lessons in Bibles underlined and annotated. The whole service was in Luganda and seemed to me more African than English in style, its energy and life clearly indigenous and deeply rooted. So much was this so, that the vicar, who had noticed an unusual white face in his congregation, interrupted his sermon to say how pleasant it was to see an Englishman there since it must remind them all that there were Christians in other countries than Africa!

Near to the church were primary and secondary schools and a training college, all now under the direction of Africans and indeed the last European member of the educational staff left twenty years ago. In all of this church and educational work there was clearly also a training in democratic management, and a useful educational experience able to prepare men and women for public service as well as for church. These local churches are one of the most hopeful and potentially effective forces at work in East Africa. They can include in their membership all Christians: missionaries, Africans, settlers, as well as overseas officers of the Government, and so the educational responsibilities of Christian citizenship can be seen as the heritage of them all and not the preserve of the missions. Clearly this process can usefully continue until African churches are the rule and the continued presence of missionaries the exception.

2. From isolation to collaboration with the State

The future of all the African territories is bound up with the development of local responsibility. Already in Northern Rhodesia and Uganda local education committees have been set up with powers both to raise funds and administer and supervise primary education. Thus the historic rôle of the Churches is following the same course as in Europe. They have blazed the trail, but now they are increasingly becoming the partner and collaborator with the State in the development of education from a sporadic venture to a public social service. Expansion on the new scale is so costly in money and man-power that it must be mainly borne by the State and so everywhere the churches are having to revise their policies and to concentrate their efforts in certain key directions designed to make the influence of denominational religion on education as effective as possible within limited resources.

In most of the territories there exist now side by side Government and religious training colleges. Nowhere, except in unhappy Kenya, have secular schools found much foothold, for the religious schools are either Christian or Muslim, and all Government schools have a strong Christian though undenominational basis. A partnership in education between Church and State is everywhere developing and, with care, the misunderstandings and mistakes that have beset this development in Europe can be avoided, and there are many signs that this is in fact happening. I talked to some of the new local education committees in East Africa

and found that already a new spirit of co-operation between missionaries and local politicians was growing up. Another sign of the same spirit at work could be seen in the sphere of teacher training. Most of the religious teacher-training centres were originally very small, many of only twenty or forty students. The Cambridge Conference of 1952 recommended "that no training college should have fewer than 100 or 120 students." When I visited Uganda in 1953 I saw that in the short space of a year the religious bodies had already concentrated their efforts on fewer, more efficient, training colleges, so that already there were no colleges smaller than the prescribed minimum. This prompt and vigorous action can be seen as an earnest of many other activities which will knit together the efforts of Church and State in education.

3. From the salvation of the individual to the salvation of society

In the early days of mission work in Africa the emphasis was naturally on the bringing of a personal message of salvation to individuals. Very close to mission stations some Africans could live Christian lives in a social setting which was that of the station family extended a little further. But many African Christians were obliged to find some compromise between the Christian ethic and the utterly different ethics of a tribal society with thousands of years of tradition behind it. The emergence of Mau Mau is a sign of this conflict at its tragic worst. But everywhere the failure to develop a specifically African yet Christian society has created tensions. Christianity has helped to break up tribal society but has not yet replaced it by the kind of society that grew up in Europe out of pagan savagery, whilst still preserving, as in the Christmas tree, the best elements of primitive tradition. There are many signs, even on the surface, of this social tension and malaise, such as the growth of crimes of violence, the existence of large numbers of young men and women who have drifted into the towns only to become thieves or prostitutes, and the general loosening of moral standards.

These dangers show themselves most on the fringes of the new and growing towns. The social and moral deprivation of children who have run away to city life is greatest for those who do not even have the semi-protective armour acquired in school or mission. Yet the response to this challenge has already appeared. In Kampala the Y.W.C.A. proposes to establish a hostel for girls, and in Nairobi the Quakers have started to build up an important Community Centre. These are examples of the development of what might be called the expression of the social ethic of Christianity. Young Farmers' Clubs in Uganda, Women's Institutes in Kenya, Toc H in Tanganyika, and the work of Scouts and Guides in all the territories, are symptomatic of the same kind of response, but a very hard battle is still to be fought against all the forces tending to weaken social cohesion. The call to the Christian is to a citizenship that is not here but in a city "to come," yet it is also a call to be like salt which preserves all that is best in society as well as to be like leaven which pro-

motes vigorous new social growth, and in East Africa the scope for the creative social expression of Christian truth is very wide.

4. The remedial task

From the time of Dr Livingstone Christian educational work has been closely associated with the care of the sick. The parable of the Good Samaritan must always ring in the ears of the Christian, and to-day it has an especial relevance to education. The mind, as we know, can both profoundly affect and also be affected by, the health of the body. Until quite recent years, unhappily, infection of one sort or another was seldom absent in the African. It is against the background of endemic disease that he has to fight his way forward. Subtertian malaria is endemic or hyper-endemic throughout tropical Africa and gives a general background of debility. Encephalitis, bilharzia, hookworm, dysentery, ascariasis and taeniasis add to the heavy load. Many African diets are lacking in constituents necessary to physical and mental health.

If any education is to be built on a sound basis the Christian is called to an attack on all of these barriers to intellectual advance. Typical of some recent attacks is that on the nutritional deficiency disease called kwashiorkor. This is a disease which retards growth and is most marked in its effects on small children. Cambridge University and the Nuffield Foundation have both contributed to a special medical research team at work in Africa on this disease, and my own University of Bristol is closely connected with the attempt to stamp out this disease through the research work of Prof. H. S. Heller. It is only when man is freed from physical afflictions such as infection and malnutrition that he becomes capable of social altruism and mental advance. Equally it is certain that widespread educational advance will be largely stultified unless problems of nutrition and infection are solved first.

5. The creative task

It is a relief to turn away from the darkness of malnutrition and disease to the light of those creative arts which are deeply rooted in Africa. At Makerere College in Uganda I listened two years ago to lovely African songs composed by contemporary musicians and beautifully sung by African choirs. At the same university, under the liberating influence of a great Christian teacher, Margaret Trowell, an African school of art is developing which has already begun to influence the work of the schools. In Dar-es-Salaam in Tanganyika I listened to some of the many records of African music collected by the Deputy Director of Education and realized how wide and deep its tradition was. In a school at Fort Jameson in Northern Rhodesia, one hot afternoon, I watched a group of girls dancing, apparently tirelessly, many of their traditional tribal dances.

There was a time when some of the puritanical Christian missions killed the natural creativeness of the African as expressed in song, dance, art or drama. This was particularly true of dance. Recently, on a sunny Sunday afternoon in the beautiful Numedal valley of Norway I saw one of the best Norwegian folk-dance teams actually crea-

ting the figures of a new dance as the music elicited them from their supple bodies no less than from the reciprocity of their creative and communicating minds. When, in this sense, love and creativeness take hold of the mind, the shapelessness and chaos of the material world become transformed by the beauty and purpose of the spiritual world and reveal it to us. One of the criticisms of the Educational Report of 1925 was that African education was too dry and bookish, producing too many clerks and too few farmers, artists and technicians. That is changing now as it is realized that the arts are a most potent medium of education and that education through them is related directly to man's gifts of freedom and creativeness. The beginnings are as yet small, but in one school after another the creative gifts of the African are being nourished and developed.

6. The militant task

The Church and the Christian must always, in an evil world, be engaged in the fight against evil, and therefore see their work at times in military terms. Even in Europe after more than a thousand years of Christian civilization it is still possible for evil and demonic forces to break through the crust of civilized order and spread savagery and cruelty. We should not be surprised that in Kenya, where the crust is thin and very recent, there should be an outbreak of savagery. But we should note that it is directed against African and European Christian alike, and that it had its origin in a group of independent schools that we allowed to grow up outside the influence of either State or Church. The war against savagery is a never-ending one. A more sophisticated enemy in East Africa is the enemy of Communism. Africa, in all kinds of ways, is a most fertile field for the development of Communist ideas, and in such a vast land it is not easy to detect the work and travels of its agents. Against these two evils the Church has to keep very vigilant and to fight in a constant warfare.

7. The development of inter-racial partnership

In each of the territories of East Africa there is the problem of a plural society, and unless Christianity can find at least as good an answer to this as Communism, then its future there is dubious. In fact, its doctrine of the brotherhood of man provides a far better answer even if more difficult to apply. In all the territories there are large Asian and European groups as well as some Arabs. Educational development must take into account the traditions and aspirations of each group whilst ensuring a partnership that is increasingly effective in social and political life. One difficulty of the plural societies is that to racial difference is added the influence of the strong religious beliefs of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. Communism would eliminate these differences with the religions themselves, but Christians cannot take so easy a way.

Future harmonious development in politics and administration depends on the degree of mutual respect and understanding that will grow up between them. It is here that education is powerful. Even

where language and religious difference keep children apart, the curriculum of their schools should be consciously designed to produce this mutual understanding. In the field of adult education the Church can do the same work with its adult members. This year a pilot "orientation" course is to be held at Bristol University for those Europeans proceeding to East Africa, to work in schools, in order that even before they arrive they may have some understanding of the outlook of the different groups in a plural society.

Initiatives in multi-racial education will stand the best chance of success if they start from the top, and it is significant that the two institutions of university status in East Africa—Makerere College, Uganda (now well established), and the Royal Technical College, Nairobi (only just begun), are both fully inter-racial in character. These two institutions will receive powerful support from outside East Africa when the new University College in Salisbury begins to function, for there the number of Europeans in residence is likely to be more than the single individuals of East Africa.

In the field of inter-racial partnership there is scope for creative work of the very highest character simply because the difficulties and the challenges are correspondingly great, and yet the Christian teaching of love of neighbour is strong enough to meet them.

Conclusion

The history of Christian work in East Africa is full of splendid instances of courage, faith and endurance by Africans and Europeans alike. Those who were early in the field had at their disposal only a fraction of the resources which we can use to-day yet they achieved great things. To-day, we face larger and more difficult problems, but have vastly more powerful forces to aid us, and we ought therefore to achieve not less but more than our fathers and grandfathers.

Points of View

MR. BENNETT CERF reports a story of a small boy in Hollywood, brought up entirely on a diet of horror comics, who was finally persuaded to try real literature, and was put on to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. He has now read it three times, and still thinks that Simon Legree is the hero!

—The *Bookseller*.

Hill tribes of Borneo

WILLIAM C. LEES

GOD CHOSE the "dregs of Borneo" to demonstrate His victory amongst the tribes of inland North-Central Borneo. But it was some five years before we found the open door to them in 1933. Until then, between the years 1928-1933, three young men, founders of the Borneo Evangelical Mission, preached amongst a mixed group of Bisayas and Ibans who populated the river area in North Sarawak in which the Government first permitted them to work. The small groups of Ibans were rather isolated representatives of the largest and most progressive tribe in Sarawak (often known as the Sea Dayaks), with the main bulk of the population some 200-300 miles to the south-west. Amongst them, as amongst the Bisayas, there was little evidence of response, and God turned the missionaries' eyes to the despised, hill-dwelling Muruts —the "dregs of Borneo."

The Muruts of Sarawak

The contrast was immediately apparent. The Lord had gone before and prepared the hearts of these people who were reported by the Government as being drunk 100 days out of every 365. These disease-ridden folk wanted to hear about this new way and several preaching trips were made. In 1933 the Government, who had always felt that the Muruts should take second place to the finer and more progressive tribes, withdrew permission to work amongst them. Indeed, any contact with them was forbidden. And it was not until five years later, in 1938, that that restriction was removed when rumours had leaked out from the Murut country that the people had radically changed.

He who is faithful and will never abandon a good work until the day of Jesus Christ, had again proved His faithfulness. Now the great majority of Muruts had but one question—"What does God want us to do?"—about births, about marriage, about sickness, about farming and all the rest. When asked when the next rice-beer feast was to be, the answer was: "We have given up drinking long ago." God had achieved this victory in the absence of any missionary. He raised up a Murut from the Indonesian side of Borneo (where the Christian and Missionary Alliance was working) to travel through the area and preach the little he knew; while a Murut from Sarawak went over to Indonesia to live there for just two months and then returned to pass on what he had heard.

In the years from 1938 up to the Japanese occupation, it was possible for the missionaries amongst the Muruts to get a good grasp of the language and to teach the people.

Also some of the Kelabits (near neighbours and linguistically closely related to the Muruts), while trading through the Murut country, heard the news of the New Way and believed. But the time-interval before the internment of the missionaries was not enough to leave more than some typed portions of Scriptures behind, although a whole manuscript of Mark's Gospel went into, and survived, the years in the prison camp — the camp which deprived the Muruts of one well-loved missionary.

Kayans and Kenyahs

After the occupation, all the buildings were destroyed, but the Muruts were still steadfast and many more Kelabits had turned to Christ, having heard more from Muruts from the Indonesian side. These Kelabits have trading activities along parts of the Baram river, and soon the Kayans and Kenyahs, who populate that river, were calling for someone to explain the New Way more fully. For these people, turning to God was a remarkable act of faith as it meant flouting the evil spirits; until that time they would do anything, even starve, rather than offend such powerful and exacting task-masters. The enemy saw his defeat and pushed many into a nominal turning. We were therefore faced with whole villages turning in a mass conversion, with regeneration of some individuals and leading to the regeneration of a percentage of the remainder. And further, the enemy countered by introducing a modified form of animism.

Some of the Kayans, and the Muruts who have gone to them as missionaries, have shown a real concern for the despised Penan. These nomads wander through the jungle

over most of the Kayan and Kenyah area, moving from one jungle shelter to another as soon as the wild sago in the vicinity is finished. Those Penans who have heard have passed on the news of the New Way amongst themselves.

The Dusuns

All these groups mentioned so far are domiciled in the north-eastern part of Sarawak and are relatively small communities with larger representation over the border in Indonesian Borneo. The largest group we work amongst, however, are the Dusuns, who live in the Colony of North Borneo and number well over 100,000. Our first contact with them was in the interior in the immediate pre-war years. There was little to show in the way of fruit at first, but there was a real interest in a twenty-seven-year-old man (Kentuni by name) who came to help the two missionary bachelors in their domestic set-up. In the short time available he was taught constantly. The missionaries were interned before they had been able to translate any of the Scriptures; so Kentuni was left more or less alone, but with God.

After the war, Kentuni, and others who had joined him, developed as men of God wonderfully and rapidly as the "born again" do and renewed in mind also. The missionaries, both white and brown, all took a share in the travelling amongst the hundreds of villages, but their main contribution was to run a Bible-school for Kentuni and his friends. These men came into school for two weeks and then went out for three weeks, which were spent on their farms or, more often, travelling and preaching. There is no doubt that God has given this man the gift of the evangelist to a greater degree than any of us in the missionary group, and there are now groups of up to 240 believers scattered through the hills as fruit of his ministry. Kentuni and his friends are supported by the Dusun Christians or, as they put it: "God has opened the hearts and hands of their brethren and they always have enough." Besides trusting the Lord for food, they trust Him in matters of sickness and healing too, but better still their faith lays hold of God for much harder and more difficult things—the rebirth of the spiritually dead.

The enemy is of course counter-attacking God's work, and besides pushing nominal belief he is using a degraded form of Islam against the Dusuns rather than the modified animism as amongst the Sarawak groups. But this in the Dusun country has never been the really strong opposition that it is in some other parts of the world.

Tagals

Travelling overland from the Dusun country back to the Sarawak Murut area (rather than following the more usual route partly by land and partly by sea), one crosses the fringe of the Tagal, or North Borneo Murut area, as it is variously called. These people are quite distinct from the traditional enemies of the Sarawak Muruts. They are noted for their treachery and live in the hills which the route more or less by-passes; it was during the course of one of these trips that the first real contact was established with them.

God has again elected to use the Sarawak Muruts, the "dregs," in preference to us white missionaries, and during the course of the last two years, an infant church has arisen under the ministry of an ill-educated Sarawak Murut who runs a primary school (very primary) and never preaches less than once a day.

Recently we witnessed the fourth baptismal service to be held, and our Murut brother, while seeking to help, handed over the examination of candidates to the Tagal Christians as he felt they would know the hearts of the people better. Amongst others, they turned one woman down because there was no good fruit in her life and she was given to gossip. Later, these Tagal Christians, who have known the Lord little more than a year, baptized the new believers.

The Missionaries

As we witnessed these things we began to see the way God wanted to work things out, the way He had chosen to glorify His name. This realization crystallized in 1950 when God gave the missionary-group, while meeting in conference, full agreement and assurance of the rightness of a suggestion from the Home Council of a fifteen-year plan to finish the work amongst the tribes to whom we had so far been called. The first reflection was that such a plan would need an immediate increase of more than fifty per cent. in the missionary team in the next twelve months. And when the Lord gave the twelve asked for in the next twelve months, He confirmed His plan. All this we can only view as His gracious dealing with us who could not keep His pace and priorities of work without a definite goal. We now understand that all our missionary effort should be aiming at the completion of the task at a very early date. And with ten years left (if the Lord tarries) we realize we must be even more urgent. Not because we only have ten years, nor even because of the political pressures or world situation, which may mean much less than ten years, but because God never intended us to be here long—only to *found* the church in the power of the Spirit and not to *run* it.

How is it working out? The Sarawak Muruts, generally speaking, all have their own pastor-teacher, and already thirteen Muruts have gone to other tribes as missionaries. Half of these have gone to work amongst the young Kenyah and Kayan Churches and have helped them tremendously in dealing with the heavy counter-attacks of the enemy. Amongst the Dusuns there is still much evangelism to be done, but this is almost entirely in Dusun hands.

Clearly we, the missionary team, have a most important contribution in teaching "faithful men who shall be able to teach others also" (2 Tim. 2:2). All members of the team have a greater or lesser share in this work as they take their turn with the local Christians in the weekly preaching, in the "schools" for the Christian leaders in off-farming seasons, and in the central Bible school. During the first year in this school, the students, usually a man and wife, together with their family, must look to God for their rice, while taking their share in the work on the farm that the students run. In the second and subsequent

years they have a share in the produce. Now this central school, which was only embryonic in 1947, is in the process of being handed over to the "dregs."

Education and Medical Work

Perhaps some would want to ask more about schools and education, while others will wonder why there is no mention of a medical programme. We believe our responsibility is to teach "all the counsel of God" (Acts 20:27), and to keep back nothing that is profitable (Acts 20:20); in other words, to follow the apostle's example. This is carried out in the Bible school and the various church-leaders' schools as well as in Sunday and week-day services. So far as education in the popular sense is concerned, we believe our responsibility is to give a primary education which can be, and is, handed over early, while fathers and mothers will continue to teach the young people the many arts and crafts of village and farm life. So far as secondary education is concerned, there are a number of establishments (mostly run by Government and up to 400 miles from the villages) to which some tribal folk go after receiving primary education.

With a scattered population and extremely difficult travelling conditions a hospital is out of the question.[1] This means every missionary (trained or untrained) must undertake his share of treating the sick. . . I write as a doctor, and I say that this approach has much to commend it: the untrained (apart from a three-month missionary medical course) can achieve ninety per cent. as much as I can in primitive jungle conditions. Moreover, the untrained much more readily leave behind an example of looking first to God and then to medicine rather than we trained folk, who tend to look to medicine first and then to God. In many ways the medical box has been a real hindrance, as the message may be received just for the sake of the medicines. Yet we cannot leave it behind for we long to have this means of showing love in a very practical way.

The Future

The main, and very time-consuming contribution of the missionary force is the translating of the Scriptures into the languages of the people. The Scriptures in the mother tongue will mean that all the people, including the women, will be able to read the Word of God with ease instead of the present very small percentage of the men who are competent to read, with difficulty, in the trade language.[2]

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(1) A population of, say, 5,000 within reasonably easy access is probably a minimal figure to justify a full hospital set-up, and keep it supplied with patients. God has overcome the missionary's principal travelling difficulties by the gift of a method extremely economic of time as well as the Lord's money; i.e., a small aeroplane and a missionary with the skill to use it on very small and difficult strips.

(2) Malay, the trade language, is more or less as closely related to Dusun, Murut, etc., as either French or German is to English.

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Training schools for Evangelism

THE RESIDENTIAL TRAINING schools in evangelism, held in connection with the Regional Visitation Campaigns in Scotland, broke completely fresh ground, and have awakened very great interest. Many of the basic principles embodied in them are now coming to be generally accepted, and the first training schools held in preparation for the "Tell Scotland" movement followed this pattern.

At these "schools" theory and practice go hand in hand all the way through. At half-past two trainees may be under instruction on the art of hospital visitation: an hour later they will be in the wards. At seven they may be listening to a talk on house-to-house visitation: at eight they will be knocking at doors in the area assigned for action. In the afternoon they may be following with growing interest and fascination a lecture on "The Witness Box Method in Evangelism": in the evening they will find themselves under merciless cross-examination in the presence of a crowd, whether out of doors or at an indoor meeting. This is realistic training, and it pays big dividends.

Training schools of this kind cater for four classes of people: (1) For those on holiday, who can devote their whole time to work on hand; (2) for those at their daily work, who live in, travel daily to and from the training school to their office, shop or factory, getting in two successive evenings what those on holiday get in one full day; (3) for those only able to come for long week-ends, for whose benefit as much as possible of what has taken place during the week is repeated; (4) for all who wish to avail themselves of any of the facilities provided.

There are no charges of any kind—either for residence or meals—and no advance booking is necessary. People can arrive at any time unannounced and without introduction, whether for an hour or a week as they choose (or may later decide). The common table and the common dormitory are there for all who wish to avail themselves of them, and youth and age, clergy and laity, share the same fellowship and go through the same discipline of study and training. There is no paid staff, and no hard and fast distinction made between those who cook and type, who wash dishes and address envelopes, and those who engage in the work of visitation and speak at meetings, who gather in study group and classroom, and who meet for morning and evening worship. The whole "school" constitutes one big family, the more intimate side of whose life, of course, is only shared by those prepared to "live in."

"Schools" of this kind are set up wherever needed, in church halls, empty houses, drill halls, castles, day-schools, or whatever buildings may be available. The local churches are invited to indicate what bit of practical work the "school" can do for them while it is in being. Nearly always this includes the visitation of a territorial area of not less than 1,000 homes.

The fellowship at these training schools can be a very wonderful thing. Bible study is given a prominent place. D. P. T.

Orthodox and other ancient churches

WORLD DOMINION proposes to publish some articles about the life and work of these churches which are too little known in the West. The figures here are very approximate and must be regarded with caution.[1]

I. THE ORTHODOX CHURCHES:

(a) *Ancient Patriarchates*

1. The Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople: 103,000 Christians.
2. The Patriarchate of Alexandria: 100,000 Christians.
3. The Patriarchate of Antioch: 250,000 Christians.
4. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem: 12,000 Christians.

(b) *Other Patriarchates*

1. The Patriarchate of Russia.
2. The Serb Patriarchate (Yugoslavia).
3. The Church of Bulgaria.
4. The Patriarchate of Rumania.

(c) *Other Independent Churches*

1. The Church of Cyprus: 361,000 Christians.
2. The Church of the Kingdom of Greece: 1,000,000 Christians.
3. The Church of Albania.
4. The Church of Georgia.
5. The Church of Poland.
6. The Church of Mount Sinai.
7. The Orthodox in the U.S.A.: 600,000 Christians.

N.B.—The status of the Orthodox Churches of Estonia, Latvia and Estonia is uncertain.

(d) *Smaller Churches*

1. The Orthodox Church in Finland.
2. Smaller Orthodox groups scattered in the world.

II. THE CHURCH OF THE EAST—(sometimes called the Assyrian Church, or the East Syrians; and sometimes, but wrongly, "Nestorians"): 60,000 Christians.

III. OTHER ANCIENT CHURCHES OF THE EAST—(sometimes called Lesser Eastern Churches, and sometimes, but not accurately, Monophysite Churches).

1. The Coptic Church of Egypt: 1,000,000 Christians.
2. The Ethiopian Church—(originally a province of the Coptic Patriarchate, now independent though retaining special links with the Coptic Church): 3,500,000 Christians.
3. The Syrian Orthodox Church—(sometimes called "West Syrian" or "Jacobite"): 120,000 Christians.
4. The Syrian Orthodox Church of South India—(divided into the "Patriarchal" and "Catholicos" parties): 450,000 Christians.
5. The Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar—(the result of a reform movement within the Syrian Orthodox Church of South India): 250,000 Christians.
6. The Armenian Church—(sometimes called Armenian Orthodox, and sometimes, but wrongly, "Gregorian"): 60,000 Christians in Istanbul; 200,000 refugees in Syria; 1,250,000 Christians in the U.S.S.R. The world-wide dispersion is reckoned at 700,000.

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(1) See also the *World Christian Handbook*, 1952, pp. 76-82, and 261-2. Published by World Dominion Press, 59, Bryanston Street, Marble Arch, London, W.1. Price 21s.

(See note on Uniat Churches, p. 226.—Ed.)

The Coptic Church

S. A. MORRISON

In Egypt

THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, the head of the Coptic Church, bears the high-sounding title of "Most Holy Pope and Patriarch of the Great City, Alexandria, and of the Places subject to Egypt, of Jerusalem the Holy City, of Abyssinia, Nubia, the five Western Cities, and of all Places where St. Mark preached." Lest it be thought that these claims are but empty words we must bear in mind that, according to Coptic tradition, the founder of the Church in Egypt was the Apostle St. Mark; that at one time Egypt, the Sudan and Abyssinia were at least nominally Christian; and that to-day the Patriarch's jurisdiction extends over the Copts in Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia, Eritrea, Israel and Jordan. Attempts have even been made in recent years to extend the influence of the Church into Uganda, West Africa and South Africa. At one period in its history the Church had no fewer than 150 Metropolitans, or Bishops. To-day the Copts in Egypt number rather more than one million souls out of a total population of over twenty millions.

Its Decline

Why, then, is the Coptic Church to-day but a shadow of its former greatness? For the decline in its numbers, influence and prestige, several reasons may be adduced. In the first centuries of its existence the Church was rent by internal quarrels, which were complicated by a strong nationalist movement in Egypt against the hegemony of the Eastern Roman Empire, as well as by the rivalry of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria and Rome, for pre-eminence. The spread of monasticism in the third and fourth centuries proved a mixed blessing. After the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs in A.D. 640, the Church was subjected to Muslim rule, which brought with it alternating periods of cruel persecution and enlightened tolerance, so that, as the centuries passed, an ever-increasing number of Christians accepted the faith of their rulers, mainly for the sake of the material advantages which accrued. Even to-day it is estimated that more than 1,000 Copts become Muslims each year, though a large proportion of them seek to recant later. The legal and social position of a Copt who returns to the Christian faith after embracing Islam, is exceedingly precarious, as, by Muslim law, an apostate should incur the death penalty, and though this law is no longer enforced, the Muslim majority can, in numerous ways, exercise pressure on apostates.

The Copts are the direct descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and

the Coptic language still survives in the Coptic liturgy. As the language of the common people, it was progressively displaced by Arabic, and only a few persons outside the ranks of the clergy now use it in every-day life. It is not always realised that the word "Copt" is almost certainly a variation of the ancient Greek name for Egypt (Αιγυπτος).

Its Isolation

When the Council of Chalcedon, in A.D. 451, condemned the so-called Eutychian heresy regarding the unity of the human and divine natures of Christ, the Copts rejected its decision with the result that the development of the Coptic Church has been almost completely severed from the main stream of Christian thought, causing loss to both its intellectual and spiritual life. Because of the iron curtain of hatred and hostility that separated the Muslim States of the Near East from the Christian countries of the West, especially after the period of the Crusades, the Coptic Church received little benefit from the fructifying forces of the Renaissance and the Reformation. The level of intellectual and spiritual life in the Church had sunk to a very low ebb at the time when the missionaries from the Western Churches—Roman Catholic and Protestant—began to make contact with it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Its Doctrine

Some of the more enlightened Coptic leaders claim that the doctrine of the Church is truly orthodox, and that it is only in a mistaken sense that it can be described as monophysite. Undoubtedly there was considerable confusion about the definition of terms in the great Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. Tentative negotiations have been proceeding for some time for a closer liaison between the Coptic and the Greek Orthodox Churches in Egypt.

In general, the beliefs of the Coptic Church resemble those of the other ancient churches of the Near East. It holds to seven sacraments, and its main service is the Mass. There are three liturgies in use—those of St. Mark, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Basil. All three are primitive, and, though now in Coptic, were based on Greek originals. There is a strong belief in the Real Presence. Saints are held in remembrance in the belief that through their prayers God will have mercy; and the highest devotion is given to the Virgin. While prayers are said for the dead no emphasis is laid on purgatory, or on the sufferings of the damned. Baptism of infants is the custom and takes place by immersion. The Chrism (Holy Oil) is used. Baptism is followed immediately by Confirmation. Fasting plays an important rôle in the life of the Church, especially among the more conservative-minded. Monasticism has figured prominently in the organization of the Church since an early date. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem is held in great respect.

Superstitions

Many customs and beliefs, still cherished by the Egyptian people, whether Muslims or Christians, are a survival of pagan practices, and the uneducated masses cling to superstitions in the Church whose origins lie buried in the pre-

Christian period of its history. In the villages there is often little to distinguish between the faith of a Muslim and that of a Christian, and though the Christian may be tenaciously loyal to his Church, he understands little of its doctrine.

Relations with other churches

The coming of Christian missions, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, has had a two-fold effect on the Coptic Church. On the one hand, large numbers of Copts have abandoned the church of their fathers and joined the Coptic Catholic or one of the Evangelical Churches, because they can find in their services so much more spiritual life. On the other hand, the Coptic Church has been stimulated into setting its own house in order, and in the process has adopted many of the methods used by the Western Churches, such as the emphasis on Bible study, evangelistic meetings, and the production of Christian literature. In order that the common people may be able to follow the liturgy more intelligently, Arabic has been introduced into several parts of the service. Readings from the Bible and sermons are now in Arabic.

Hitherto the movement for reform has been limited almost exclusively to the laity and the lower ranks of the clergy. The hierarchy views all innovations with the profoundest suspicion. The constant pressure of centuries of Muslim persecution has tended to develop a defensive outlook, tenacious of tradition and rigidly conservative. It is not altogether surprising that the leaders of the Church regard with resentment the inroads made upon the membership of the Coptic Church by the Roman Catholics and the Evangelicals.

Internal Struggles

The laity has always played a significant part in the life of the Church. From early days a senate of prominent lay Copts was established under the name of Archons, but it was not until the 14th of May, 1883, that a Coptic General Community Council was formally recognized by the Egyptian Government. The scope of its authority has been modified on several occasions since, but in general it is entitled to adjudicate on questions of personal status affecting the Coptic community. Between it and the hierarchy there has developed a relation of continuous friction, due mainly to the desire of each group to gain control of the revenue of the monastery endowments. Another question in dispute has been that of the method of election of the Patriarch. So long as the choice is limited to a monk, and so long as the monasteries continue to attract only the lesser educated members of the community, there is little likelihood of a strong, progressive Patriarch being appointed. Some Coptic laymen of university standard have in recent years devoted themselves to the monastic life in the hope that thereby the door will be opened to a movement for reform within the hierarchy, but the Patriarch has hitherto blocked their appointment to high office.

Reform Movements

It is claimed that there are now about 440 reform groups or societies within the Coptic Church, some of

them with a large membership and with branches in the principal towns and educational centres. The very number of these societies is an indication of the divisiveness which has continually dogged the history of the Church. Neither the Coptic Church itself nor the Reform Societies within it, have succeeded in breaking away from the spread of communalism which characterises all Christian minorities in Muslim lands.

The tendency is for all Coptic societies, whether their objective be the promotion of education, health, welfare or benevolence, to limit the scope of their services to the Coptic community. They are not much concerned about the needs of the Muslims around them, and in their hearts they despise, as well as fear them. The fact, however, must not be overlooked that there are groups of spiritually minded Copts who have realized their responsibility for the evangelization of their Muslim neighbours, with the result that there has been a steady stream of conversions from Islam, most of them sealed by secret baptism.

Nationalism

Many Copts have joined the nationalist movement, some out of conviction, but the majority as a safeguard against reprisals. Those distinguished Coptic laymen who have plunged into politics, and accepted high office in the State, have usually severed their connection with the active life of the Church. The influence of western secularism is permeating Coptic society with a consequent drift into a materialistic pleasure-seeking outlook on life.

The Future of the Church in Egypt

There can be no question that the Coptic Church has reached a critical period in its history. It is in grave danger of losing its members in increasing numbers to secularism or Islam, on the one hand, or to the Roman Catholics and the Evangelicals on the other. Its one hope is a spiritual revival of a sort which will satisfy the needs of the better-educated laymen, as well as of the masses of illiterate Christian peasants and artisans. A revival of this kind is not likely to materialize until three conditions are fulfilled, i.e., until there is a change in the outlook of the hierarchy, the clergy are better trained, and the Coptic reformers can achieve a large measure of unity and co-operation among themselves.

A very practical issue is hereby raised for the representatives of the Churches from the West: whether they are more likely to help forward a spiritual revival in the Coptic Church by offering it their co-operation and service, or whether they should pursue a policy of building up a strong Evangelical Church from among its members.

The Coptic Church in Ethiopia

Tradition records that the founder of the Christian Church in Ethiopia was Frumentius, a native of Phoenicia. Wrecked on the Ethiopian shore when on a voyage to India, Frumentius was kindly treated by the king at Axum, and with the help of Christian merchants visiting the country was able to spread the Christian faith. About the year A.D. 326 Frumentius was

consecrated bishop by the Patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria. At first Christianity spread slowly, but the arrival of a large body of monks towards the close of the fifth century is believed to have stimulated its acceptance. The advent of Islam cut off the Church in Ethiopia from the Western world, and, to quote Gibbon, "encompassed by the enemies of their religion the Ethiopians slept for near 1,000 years forgetful of the world by whom they were forgotten."

Roman Catholic Influence

During the sixteenth century Portuguese ambassadors, soldiers and priests used all means in their power to persuade the Ethiopians to acknowledge the Roman papacy, and though temporarily successful at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Portuguese were finally expelled in 1633. A similar attempt to bring the Ethiopian Church under the suzerainty of the Pope of Rome was made by the Italians during their recent occupation of the country.

Relations with Egypt

The Negus, the supreme ruler in Ethiopia, who traces his descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, claims to be also the head of the Church. Until recent years the Metropolitan (*Abuna*) of the Church was always appointed from Egypt. An intensive and growing nationalism led the Ethiopian Christians to claim the right to have Ethiopian bishops consecrated in Ethiopia. For some years controversy continued between the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was reluctant to lose his hold on the Ethiopian Church, and the Ethiopian leaders, but a settlement acceptable to both sides was reached a few years ago.

Its Doctrine

In doctrine the Ethiopian Church follows the pattern of the Coptic Church in Egypt, but in practice there is more superstition. Pagan and primitive beliefs prevail among the masses. The priests exercise great influence through the strict enforcement of confession and absolution. The Christian population of Ethiopia is under constant pressure from Islam, which is spreading among both pagans and nominal Christians. The fear that haunts the Christian rulers is that ere long the day will come when the Muslims will constitute the majority of the population.

Relations with Protestant Churches

Protestant missions have been at work intermittently for more than a century. After the expulsion of the Italians they were permitted to return to certain specified districts, chiefly those where the Coptic population is small. As in Egypt, the Coptic Church of Ethiopia is afraid lest it loses its members to the Roman Catholic or the Protestant Missions, and the policy pursued by some Protestant Missions of seeking to co-operate in the reform of the Church has not met with any outstanding measure of success. The attitude of the central government towards foreign missions, on the whole, has been one of tolerance, but in the provinces local chiefs have at times discriminated against them. The Church in Ethiopia, like that in Egypt, is facing a crisis in its history. The vital question is whether it will be able to withstand the pressure of

Islam on the one hand, and of secularism on the other. Only a profound spiritual revival can save it from attrition.

Uniat Churches

Since the Crusades there has been a Roman Catholic community in the Near East. It is one of the first aims of all Roman Catholic missions and schools, where ancient Eastern Churches exist, to promote their union with the Roman Church. Only the Maronites are united with Rome as a whole community, but there exist other smaller groups, which retain their ancient forms of worship and church order in a modified form, while accepting all the essentials of Roman Catholicism.

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Is it peace?

KENNETH GRUBB

"And it came to pass, when Joram saw Jehu, that he said, Is it peace, Jehu? And he answered, What peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?"—2 Kings 9:22.

IT IS ONE of the anomalies of our time that never have people so earnestly desired peace—and I believe the common people do that not only here but in Russia or China—and never has it seemed harder to preserve. Perhaps this is an example on the world-scale of the fact that it is our highest desires that sometimes hinder our happiness, because we do not willingly pay the price of their achievement.

The dilemma of international relations

No man can say with certainty what are the prospects of peace. We have been given of late terrifying but also soberly realistic pictures of what the effects of the H-bomb are. We have been told that the next two or three years are crucial in the armaments race. We have been further invited to hope that now that men know that nuclear warfare may destroy their whole world, they will refrain from resorting to it. In other words a superiority, or even a parity, of weapons will produce prudence. Those who thus speak to us are themselves well aware of the frailty of these arguments. It is possible to quote special instances, such as the use of gas in the last war, where men did not go to extremes, but these are susceptible of special explanations. Generally, it is unfortunately true that among those who hold the sword are some who cannot refrain from using it, when they know it to be sharp.

I do not pretend that anything that our Church, even the Churches throughout the world, can say or do is likely to change the course of events so drastically as to remove this curse from the world here and now. Fundamentally, we are not here dealing with a sudden crisis of power, of national greed, or of the ambitions of any political system, but with the fruits of sin, the immoderate pretensions of human skill and self-sufficiency, and the overweening pride of man. These are growing diseases and are not likely to be cured by fits of repentance inspired by sudden fears.

Peace is not an absolute

Why is it that so often the things we most desire—peace, freedom, justice or fair play, comfort—escape us? It is because we seek them as ends in themselves. Thus we elevate them into absolutes and consecrate them as gods. This is persistently the case with our search

for peace. But if we have learned anything in the two world wars, it is surely that peace is not an absolute. It is the product of conditions which demand from us sacrifices we will not make, the effect of harmonies which require us to tune to God's chords, the result of qualities that because they are costly are rare. This is not a novel conclusion, far from it. It was perceived by Jehu in the familiar and rather bloodthirsty text already quoted. He saw that it was quite wrong to suppose that peace could coexist with Jezebel. The prophet Isaiah got even nearer the mark when he observed: "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever."

It has always been possible for a nation to have peace at any price—or cost. Obviously a conqueror will conquer by guile, by propaganda, or by the loss of nerve of his foe, if he can. It is much cheaper and more profitable than the other way, that is the violence and destruction of war. If you surrender the things you believe to be right, or righteous, you can have peace of a kind. If you bow to a bully, there will be no fight. I do not say that the modern dimension of power in all its horror has not introduced new and solemn considerations into this familiar argument: I think it has. But I cannot see that it has changed its essentials.

I do not think that the Church of England has ever formally defined a position on the question of the Christian's participation in war beyond the brief statement of Article 37: "It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars." But I also agree that the Church must surely recognize the right of the Christian pacifist minority to believe as it does, must protect it, and must strive to ensure that it is not victimized. In such a question there can be no forcing of conscience. The traditional and Catholic doctrine of the subject is that of the just war. A just war was defined as a war fought for a just cause, at the command of a rightly ruling prince, or, as we would say to-day, on the decision of a government duly representing the people. This, at least, is how the matter is usually stated. It is less often observed that it was also held that the force employed must be sufficient to attain the objective but no more: wanton ferocity was forbidden.

It is widely argued to-day that these considerations no longer apply, since power on the modern scale is itself unjust and certainly creates terrible injustice. This is true since it is no longer possible to limit weapons to merely hitting the target. But it is altogether too sweeping to contend that the entire concept of the just war is, therefore, overthrown. At least, I would still maintain that much of the Catholic doctrine remains true, and that the cause of justice, and particularly the defence of the weak, must be maintained, if necessary by the sword. I know that this may mean the destruction of civilization. But is it worth saving at the price of integrity of soul? We are not to fear those that kill the body and after that have no more that they can do. I say this because I think there is some danger of a

repetition of the emotions of the 'thirties, when we had the Peace Pledge and the motion of the Oxford Union condemning the fight for one's country, but when we also had the subjugation of famous and free states to tyranny, and the shame of Munich.

Peaceful coexistence

The popular contemporary solution of all this is the political formula of peaceful coexistence. People think this is something new, but the phrase is not new; it was produced by Lenin in the 'twenties. Peaceful coexistence should be supported since it is, perhaps, the only possible formula to-day. But it does not solve the question of a *just* peace, for it sacrifices justice to peace. It means that if I shoot up my neighbours you do nothing to stop me, since your rule is simply to coexist with me. And that you must presumably do till your turn comes. We, as a nation, are coexisting with powers which suppress liberty, including religious liberty, at their pleasure, and remove a world of obstacles by the mere decision that they will have none but those of brute force and mass. You will then say: "Why do you support this kind of coexistence?" My answer is that just now it is probably the only alternative to total war, and gives a breathing space in which to strive—and it is a tough and long strife—for better things.

The duty of the Church

What then is the duty of the Church in this, which may be Western civilization's dying hour?

If it be true that peace is a product of other conditions, what are they? They are precisely the things for which the Christian should work: first of all, righteousness, starting with personal righteousness and going on to good faith between nations; then social and racial justice, and then economic equity—which is something different from equality. The average income of people in this country is over £200 per head, per annum: in the United States it is £600: and in South and South-East Asia about £20. You cannot expect people to keep the peace in such circumstances: for them it is simply a peace to starve in, or an inducement to fall for the false glitter of Communism. You cannot expect people who are despised because of their colour to do other than fight if they see a chance to do it with success. You cannot expect nations to observe the sanctity of pacts and covenants unless both their people and their rulers possess personal standards of truth and right derived from a knowledge of God as the righteous judge of all the earth. Set in this light, all the witness of Christians, all the work of the Church, all the little acts of straight conduct that are within the reach of each, contribute to the foundations of peace, and it is the best contribution that the individual can make because it is the most needed.

I should also suppose that the worldwide existence of the Church was a contribution to just peace. Usually wars take place between nations, although the Americans fought the bloodiest civil war of all modern times, I mean in 1865, to prevent the right of self-determination by the Southern States. (All of us, however, enjoy our little inconsistencies from time to time.)

Now the Church Universal professes to be a community that transcends the frontiers of nationalism and owes its final loyalty to this God above all nations who sitteth upon His throne, judging *right*. It is supremely important in this our day that such bonds of union across national frontiers should be strengthened. It is extremely important that my meeting with a German should not be just a Britisher and a German getting together, but two Christians in fellowship. It is for this reason, among many others, that I judge the ecumenical movement to be of some significance, and am prepared to give time to it. I even venture to think, sometimes, that some of the minor matters that divide the churches are of a slight importance as compared to the challenge that a nuclear age faces them with. But the mere thought shows that I am no theologian, but only a churchwarden. It is difficult for the churches to preach unity to the nations unless they achieve it themselves. To practise what we preach is important: to be able to preach what we practise is not altogether a bad thing. Many more sermons would be very interesting if this were the habitual custom of the pulpit: the pew would learn a lot.

Christian principles at international friction points

But it is not sufficient for the Church to stand for righteousness, and for unity, it must also apply the ministry of reconciliation to the divisions and antagonisms of the world. This means we must see how far precepts primarily designed to order the individual conduct of Christians are relevant to relations between the nations. I am certain that this must be done. The application of Christian principles to international questions is by no means easy. It requires a close knowledge of the hard facts of the situation, a sound general judgment, a power to detach oneself from any one national background, a willingness to listen, and a tactfulness in putting forward suggestions. What, for example, is the meaning of forgiveness, if it has any in international affairs? There are situations, in my experience, where forgiveness is politically, as it is always spiritually, a creative force. But there are others when it is a too dangerous political risk, it means the sacrifice of justice and the defence of the weak. This work of applying Christian principles to international friction points is largely of a technical nature and cannot be expected to interest many people, but I believe it to be something which ought not to be left undone.

But ordinary Christians can make a great contribution to peace by standing firm in their witness to Christ as both a just God and a Saviour. We Christians should be the first not to fear, if I can put it that way. Nothing good will come of either fear or of foolhardiness. Indeed, these two attitudes, between them, may well bring the final catastrophe upon us. We have the promises of God and the Word of Christ to lean upon. We are bidden, when we see tragedy stalking, to look up, knowing that our redemption draweth nigh. We are in the hands of God, our refuge and strength, who governs the course of history, no less than He

directs the lives of those who trust Him.

I have referred to the importance of a stand for justice, for righteousness, as well as for peace. I have referred also to the worldwide extension and ecumenical influence of the Church and to the ministry of reconciliation which must be pursued in the name of its Lord. We remember that the meaning of reconciliation is nowhere seen in greater grandeur than at the Cross of Christ. Something of the nature of the sacrifice which may be required of His followers if justice and peace are to reign amongst us may also be glimpsed there. But I do not really believe that there is any other way.

The pride of the nations is more than the pride of individuals, but it starts there with you and me. The sin of the nations is something different from the sins of their citizens, but it starts there with you and me. Yet I constantly meet men and women, often young people, who do not see the implications of this. They complain, intelligibly enough, that these great questions are remote from them and are settled over their heads. They say that nothing they do is likely to change the attitude of Russia or of any other nation, east or west. I do not deny the reality of this dwarfing sense of frustration: it is one of the evils of our time. But there *are* things that are within our power as individuals and which, if done by the many, are a real contribution to world peace and justice. First among these is to submit ourselves to the claims of God; to know the meaning of reconciliation because we have experienced it personally; of righteousness because we have moulded our lives after God's commandment; of serenity, because His grace has saved us from either fear or fatalism. We begin to know these things at the Cross of Christ.

T. Cullen Young

"SERVANT OF GOD—FRIEND OF AFRICA"—thus reads the memorial to Margaret Wrong in Kampala Cathedral, as Mr. de Mestral relates in this number. These words might, with equal fitness, be applied to Cullen Young who died last June. He went to Nyasaland in 1908; in 1931 he plunged into Christian literature work; before retiring he was able to see the formation of the United Society for Christian Literature of to-day. He was ever generous of mind and heart, and *World Dominion* drew richly on his unfailing friendship and advice.

Leprosy and evangelization

ROBERT G. COCHRANE

THROUGH LEPROSY WORK, if carried on under modern methods, there is a great opportunity to build up in villages and rural areas a self-supporting, self-governing indigenous Church. This has been done in Thailand and is a potent force in opening up the country to the Gospel, for instance, in Northern Nigeria.

The first objective: to make disciples

Because of the long-term treatment of Leprosy (eighteen months to seven years) effective Bible teaching to new converts can be so organized that when the patients are discharged there is every hope that they are not only born-again Christians, but Bible-loving Christians and disciples in the true sense. As Dr Foster of the American Presbyterian Mission, French Cameroun, has so clearly put it:

> If we are failing in our primary objective to make disciples of the Africans—then we had better seriously re-evaluate all our feverish activities, and, if necessary consider retrenchment in schools, in institutions (in which I include hospitals and leprosy institutions, camps or dispensaries, both general and leprosy), and in activities, so that the missionary will again have time to talk to the individual about the things of God. . . . To my way of thinking, when we get to heaven we will be much more highly commended by our Lord for having made true disciples of some of our African brothers (as He commanded us to do) than for having provided good education and medical care to all Southern Cameroun.

Through leprosy work that personal contact is achieved which is essential if we are to make disciples of the Africans. The greatest evangelistic agency is not necessarily the paid teacher, evangelist or pastor, although these are potent forces, nor is it the missionary, but the simple African going home and telling. . . .

Plans and strategy

Ruanda-Urundi, in East Africa, is blessed not only with a Protestant alliance of all Societies but by its strong evangelical outlook and Bible-loyal Christians. The African Church, I believe, is stronger and more nearly truly indigenous here than anywhere else in Congo. Is it too much to ask that we may look on the work as a whole—not as that of Danish Baptist, Church Missionary Society, American Friends Gospel Mission, Holiness Missionary Society, and so on, but as the work of the whole Church of God in Ruanda-Urundi? In this light let us plan our strategy in terms of our total forces and resources, deciding our priorities, and, if necessary, regrouping our forces so that

the task of winning Ruanda-Urundi for Christ can be done as quickly as possible. Unless the leprosy work is planned and organized on this basis it will be ineffective and in the end the Government will hand it over to others to manage.

The main function of all missionary work is to confront the world with Christ as Redeemer and Lord and, through witness and life, win precious souls for His Kingdom. If the leprosy work at Nyankanda Leprosy Institution in Ruanda-Urundi has not this as its primary objective we had better not start. The one thing that is so encouraging is the determination of the whole staff at Nyankanda to be, under God, a powerful witness to His grace and glory.

God in His goodness has given us greatly increased knowledge of leprosy, and in this connection medical missionary leadership has been significant. We must do this work well, and show not only that leprosy in the majority of instances can be healed, but that deformity can be prevented. It can be said to-day that every deformity in leprosy is due either to ignorance or carelessness. No deformity, not even the loss of fingers or toes, should take place if the leprosy patients from the beginning were cared for properly.

This work can contribute to the building up of an indigenous, self-supporting, self-governing church, so native to the soil that when the day of trial comes it will withstand all the onslaughts of the enemy.

"Go home to thy friends and tell," said our Lord to the healed maniac of Gadara, when he besought Him that he might be with Him (St. Mark 5:19). I could tell you of churches built up, of the Gospel spread, as a result of such witness. The whole of Northern Nigeria has been opened up to the Gospel through leprosy work. More than a quarter of the students in the Sudan Interior Mission Bible Training School in Northern Nigeria are ex-leprosy patients. There is no more potent ally in the spread of the Gospel of Christ than the leprosy institution planned carefully, with the Christian objective, and organized under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit along challenging modern lines.

A unique opportunity

A leprosy institution, as a long-term project, can undertake in a special way training in leprosy work. Every medical worker should realize that leprosy is an important endemic disease and learn to play his part in the hospital or dispensary in the campaign to control this scourge. Every nurse holding a responsible hospital position, and every doctor, should at some time or other stay at Nyankanda and learn to appreciate the part the general hospital can play in the battle against leprosy. Not only this, but an institution like Nyankanda could institute a laboratory technicians' course so that the African hospital technician could be better trained.

A well-run institution, with Bible-loving Christians, gives a unique opportunity to train in Christian leadership and evangelism. To refuse this challenge is to neglect one of the most potent means of grace I know. To visit Nyankanda as I have, to see the patients and staff live and breathe

in the atmosphere of spiritual grace, to hear saved and consecrated workers speak of Him who is the altogether Lovely One, is a memory which will abide with me as a perpetual challenge in my life.

I attended prayers every morning and was each time thrilled with the high spiritual tone of the staff, particularly African. As an evangelizing force, as an institution which will inspire a young missionary and help him to become utterly devoted to the Lord, this institution has immense and great possibilities, the neglect of which would, I am convinced, be setting aside a means of grace and a method for planting the Church in the African soil which would be detrimental to the interests of the Kingdom of God. The whole atmosphere of the institution is of utter dependence on the Lord and to Him is all the glory.

Nyankanda is at the cross-roads. Either it will go ahead and set an example of devotion to the Lord in leprosy work, or it will be content with an institution where leprosy work is regarded more as a Christian philanthropy than a pulsating challenge and a unique evangelizing force.

May the Lord, who has led us so wonderfully up to now, help us to choose the course which is in accordance with His will, and within the challenge of the Gospel of Christ and the upbuilding of His whole Church in Ruanda-Urundi.

SHAW'S WALL MAPS

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What kind of literature will capture the African?

Christian literature for Africa —a tribute to Margaret Wrong

CLAUDE DE MESTRAL

ON THE 8th of October, 1954, the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, ICCLA, celebrated its silver jubilee in London. It was natural that the special dinner, gathering some ninety guests, was first of all a tribute to the late Margaret Wrong, the Committee's first Secretary.

Launched in 1929, to meet the growing need for Christian books for the churches in Africa, and to help the eighteen African Christian Councils (or their equivalent) south of the Sahara keep pace with the many-sided development of African life, ICCLA owes a great debt to Margaret Wrong. This brilliant Canadian Christian woman had not only a clear and wide vision of the task to be accomplished, but also the knack of getting all sorts of people to co-operate. To-day, seven years after her untimely death in Uganda, countless men and women can be found whose faces light up when her name is pronounced. Moreover they are to be found among journalists as well as among missionaries, among business men as likely as among high officials. All who met her caught something unique in Margaret Wrong, whose memorial tablet, placed in Kampala's cathedral describes her simply as *Servant of God—Friend of Africa.* No more fitting or higher praise could be given to her.

With an amazing vitality Margaret Wrong travelled widely throughout the great African continent, sometimes for six or more months at a time. Back in England she kept in touch, not only with the missionary circles, but with government officials and the staff of the B.B.C., as well as African students. During my present trip to West Africa I met a secondary school headmaster who described to me, in glowing terms, his first Christmas in London at Margaret Wrong's flat. He received there a new vision of western life, and even more a radiant example of the Christian faith and joy without which the West would be worthless.

One of Margaret Wrong's great accomplishments was in fostering the creation of various publication bureaux, where government and Christian bodies co-operate freely and creatively. She gave also a good deal of attention to the problem of adequate school-books for Africa. As a result the present books are quite different from those used in England, France or elsewhere. Without being in any way

inferior to the books used in Europe or America these textbooks are suited to the environment of the scholars using them. The great commercial publishers have not been slow to see the immense possibilities in Africa, and many of them now have regular offices there ; one of them even has a large printing shop, with a full staff of editors and writers.

In order to ensure sufficient funds for the work of ICCLA, as well as to maintain strong contacts with the various church or mission boards supporting it, in North America as well as in England, Margaret Wrong often crossed the Atlantic. She took advantage of her visits to North America to keep in close contact with foundations interested in Africa. On some occasions she even linked her trips to Africa with some special investigation on behalf of an American foundation. It was on her visits to the great continent that she seemed most at home. One missionary remembers meeting her, seated under a tree, in a village, showing books to a number of women and children. Another tells how, a few minutes after reaching his station, Margaret Wrong was busy with some school children, sharing in their preparation for the Christmas celebration.

To help churches and missions—and Africans—understand better what Christian literature ought and could be, she launched a monthly magazine, *Listen,* with the following characteristic sub-titles: *Friend Speaks to Friend,* and *News from Near and Far.* She launched also the "African Home Library"—a collection of some 125 fourpenny booklets—herself writing the first one, entitled *The Country of Jesus.* This series contains booklets on the Bible and Christian faith, biographies, allegories and stories, family, health and land, government and industry, countries and customs, science and education. In order to link more closely the various Christian Councils of Africa, the missionary presses and those most concerned with literature, Margaret Wrong started the quarterly, *Books for Africa,* which today is still being sent free by ICCLA to some four thousand people, thanks to the generous contribution of the Women's Inter-Church Council of Canada.

It was fitting that friends of Margaret Wrong, on both sides of the Atlantic and in Africa, contributed to build up a fund to commemorate her life and work. Its income is devoted to the provision of a silver medal and money prizes for original writings by Africans. The fund is called the *Margaret Wrong Memorial Fund.* ICCLA's silver jubilee affords us the occasion to call attention to the pioneer work of this great Christian woman ; it allows us also to take stock of the Committee's work, and try to assess the present position of literature in Africa.

ICCLA's accomplishments

Having been associated with the work of the Committee for only two-and-a-half years the writer may be allowed to speak of its accomplishments, as practically everything is due to the efforts of others than himself. If we compare the present literature available in Africa, in thousands of bookshops, libraries and homes, with that shown by the survey of Christian literature prepared by Canon F. Row-

ling and Dr C. E. Wilson, for the Conference of British Missionary Societies in 1923, the contrast is amazing. Everywhere the schools are well provided with suitable text-books, which are the backbone of the book-trade in Africa. The number of Christian books, suitable for Africa (I repeat that such books are *not* inferior to European books, but simply answering local needs) is greater, and the number of vernacular editions has certainly increased. More books and booklets are also being written by Africans. Until this is done on a much larger scale, however, books are not very likely to be read for enjoyment in Africa. Here and there some of the missionary presses have merged to improve their output; this has been helped at times by ICCLA, as recently in Ruanda-Urundi.

Much of the development of the sales of books in Africa is due, no doubt, to the continued progress of education of the young people. Hence the majority of books sold are text-books and books of the type *How to* . . . . Most African young people are eager to learn how to progress in life and to improve their standing, and salary, just like the "expatriates" who work in Africa, in government or business. What is not yet evident is any large development of what may be properly called "literature," that is, books that are read, not for immediate material profit or benefit, but for general interest and culture. This is, however, not so much the fault of our African friends as the result of the type of education they are receiving. It is fair to add that few of the non-Africans who live and work in Africa, with the exception of South Africa, are great lovers of "literature." Illustrated magazines and thrillers are more likely their choice, which brings me to our next point.

Christian periodicals

Some seven years ago a Christian Council studied, with the help of an "expert," the possibility of launching a Christian magazine or weekly. The advice given was: "It is impossible, and will not pay." Yet a few years later, the Sudan Interior Mission did launch in Nigeria *The African Challenge* with the help and guidance of an able Christian journalist, Mr. Trevor Shaw, of New Zealand. The success of this illustrated Christian monthly has been amazing: it is to be found now in every territory where English is used. Last fall a quarterly Yoruba edition was launched, and discussions are under way for a Swahili edition. Africans, like most people all over the world, are very fond of illustrated magazines. For the next ten years Churches and Missions anxious to reach a large public (non-Christians as well as church members) will be wise to devote the best part of their efforts to this field. One word of caution is needed, magazines cannot succeed unless edited by trained journalists; this is not the field for well-intentioned enthusiasts, though this business can be learned, of course.

In this connection it is worth noting that Mr. Shaw has now launched a new magazine *Envol* in French, at Abidjan, under an independent body in which ICCLA and other organizations are greatly interested. French-speaking Africa (which includes the Belgian Congo, with a total Protestant population

of some two millions, and Madagascar where Protestants greatly outnumber Roman Catholics) is much poorer than the territories linked with the British Commonwealth. What is specially noteworthy about Mr. Shaw's efforts is that he is most ably helped by an excellent African editorial board, which includes a lawyer, a pastor, two writers, and a musician. The time has certainly come when those deciding what needs to be printed in Africa and for African readers must be sons and daughters of the great continent, and not foreigners, however well intentioned. The same is true of any country in the world: even in England the books most widely read are those of English writers, not those by Australians, Americans or Canadians, even though they all write in English.

Needed: greater use of African languages

For a long while most of the books and magazines that will be read by the masses of Africans will have to be written in African languages. It is true that there is a growing number of African writers using French, Portuguese or English as their tool of art. But it remains true that such books have not the circulation in Africa that might be expected. The tremendous development of the literacy campaigns, linked here and there with the work of community development, is helping the launching of quite a new vernacular literature of all sorts; some editions exceed the 350,000 mark. Here and there multi-lingual newspapers are constantly increasing their circulation. The staggering success of an African printing firm like the Gaskiya Corporation, in Northern Nigeria, is a sure index that, like everybody else in the world, the reading public of Africa likes best to read in its mother-tongue. What else can we expect? The puzzling question remains: *What kind of literature is going to capture the African readers?* Will it be the materialistic type? Will it be the thriller type, with which the West is so well acquainted? Will it be mainly a narrow, parochial, tribal journalism (as exemplified by the newspapers guided by London interests, in West Africa especially)?

The great task of ICCLA is *to make sure that Christianity is not excluded from the growing reading matter in Africa.* This cannot be accomplished through its sole resources and efforts, but there is still a possibility of turning the tide of cheap, narrow and materialistic literature which, to the sorrow of many Africans, is spreading throughout Africa. Unless all concerned with the production of a constructive and bold output of Christian literature in Africa join hands now and act unitedly, Africa may very well follow the example of the West, where Christianity is more nominal than real: or she may even fall prey to a well-planned Communist literature (which is not yet to be found in Africa, except in a few places). The future of ICCLA's activity will certainly differ from its past, but its central aim remains that which was envisaged by its first Secretary, who was rightly called: "Servant of God—Friend of Africa."

Allen's principles are relevant in an English suburb

Life and work of Roland Allen

DAVID PATON

THE REVEREND ROLAND ALLEN was a missionary who served with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in North China for some years in the early part of the century: he had subsequent missionary experience in India and in Africa. He is chiefly known for two books: *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* first published in 1912 and revised and republished in 1927; and *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It,* first published in 1927 and republished in 1949. There are also some smaller writings, now out of print, but the two books mentioned are available,[1] and ought to be more widely known than they are.

Missionary Methods is a careful and detailed study of St. Paul's methods of establishing the Church in the four provinces of Galatia, Asia, Macedonia and Achaea, combined with the analysis of these methods and a defence of their relevance and practicability to-day. Parts of this book need revision: it is becoming clearer that much that used to be classified as "Pauline" is really the faith and practice of the Church as a whole, and some passages need re-writing in this sense. This, of course, only strengthens Allen's fundamental case.

Spontaneous Expansion is an analysis of the distresses that inevitably follow our usual practice of establishing "missions" and hoping they will grow by experience and devolution into "churches." The principal distresses are discussed under the headings of sterility and antagonism. An interesting feature of the book is the use made of articles by Fr. H. H. Kelly, founder of the Society of the Sacred Mission at Kelham, who reached substantially similar conclusions.

Both these books are of immediate significance not only for the "mission field" but also "at home": or, in Allen's language and more accurately, they are full of suggestive advice for those who care for the missionary outreach of the Church itself wherever it may be placed.

"Law" or "Gospel"?

Allen's main contentions may be summarized as follows:

1. "The principles which seem to underlie all the Apostle's practice were two, (a) that he was a

(1) World Dominion Press, 59, Bryanston Street, Marble Arch, London, W.1.

preacher of Gospel, not of law, and (b) that he must retire from his converts to give place for Christ. The spirit in which he was able to do this was the spirit of faith."

With this is contrasted our conventional assumption that a native Church cannot be left to exercise full responsibility until it is equipped with leadership trained very much in our own model and having a firm grasp of all the details of theology and church principle that we have ourselves acquired over the centuries ("law" as distinguished from "Gospel") and a solid system of organization of like origin and complexity.

2. St. Paul expected that the Church, once founded and equipped, would grow, develop, and spread of itself; and apparently was justified in his expectation. We commonly find that the Church tends to remain static. The reason for the contrast is that we have suggested, in deed if not in word, from the beginning that what is needed for church life will be provided from outside (by the mission); and it is therefore superhumanly difficult to create on this foundation a spontaneous sense of initiative and responsibility for expansion. Those who feel such an initiative tend to secede and set up independent sects, which spread much more rapidly than do the mission churches.

Essentials

3. The essential equipment of the Church is not buildings or finance from outside or even the Prayer Book (or its equivalent in other Churches than the Anglican) but the Creed, the Bible, the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, and the Ministry. It is necessary that these should be handed on and received. A man can "receive" the Creed even though he may not understand Chalcedonian Christology (the Churches are full of such devout Christians). A congregation can make use of the Bible without benefit of a college-trained minister, provided that there are some who can read it and expound it for their need, and provided that all understand what the Bible is given them for. (This understanding is widespread still among simple devout people.) It is essential that the Church know how to use the Sacrament of Baptism and the Eucharist; not essential that they have been trained to distinguish, let us say, between Aquinas's and Zwingli's view of the meaning of the Eucharist and to prefer the view we prefer. Allen indeed is curiously up to date in his "biblical theology":

> When I speak of "Baptism" I do not mean a mere form. I mean a composite whole, a form which I can see and a spirit which gives it meaning and force. If there had been no repentance and faith there would have been no baptism, and if there had been no gift of the Holy Ghost, still less would there have been any baptism. By Baptism, then, I mean not only washing, but Repentance and Faith and Grace of the Holy Ghost and Washing. . . .

It is essential that the Church should have entrusted to it the Sacraments—as means of grace and as the means of the life of the Church—and should know how to use them: the meaning will grow on them. It is essential that they have the Ministry—duly appointed leaders who can perform for them

the functions of Christian leadership *that they need*. They must be duly appointed in that they have the real support of the congregation they are to oversee, *and* in the sense that they must represent to that congregation the unity of the whole Church, *and* in the sense that they must be able to preside at the Eucharist and at Baptism. They must not merely be catechists or lay-readers, hamstrung at the essential sacramental point; nor merely self-appointed schismatic leaders without the authority of the whole Church in their local charge. Allen would add that ideally they should be able to appoint their successors; in other words, to be bishops as well as priests. If there is any danger of their being cut off from their bishop, then he is clearly right. That Christians should have to wait years for confirmation, and so for the Eucharist, is a scandal. It is also a scandal and a stumbling block to the expansion of the Church that up to fifty congregations should be in the charge of one priest, so that Christians may be deprived of the Eucharist save on three or four occasions in the year.

These things are the essentials of the ministry. A knowledge of Greek, a professional training, even a full-time ministry, are necessary only when the condition of the Church in a particular time and place requires it. In the villages of Asia and Africa, perhaps in many places in England, the Church does not require a full-time professional ministry; indeed such a ministry often means a strait-jacket round the body of the Church, causing it to look to a professional to do much that it should do for itself.

Mutual responsibility

4. The above discussion of the Sacraments and the Ministry can be summarized. Since the Holy Ghost works powerfully through the "signs of the Kingdom" to use F. D. Maurice's phrase (Creed, Bible, Ministry, Sacraments) we do not need to back Him with a professional ministry until the business of the Church becomes too complex and burdensome for a part-time voluntary ministry. We can *begin with a voluntary but fully "priestly" ministry* adding the professional full-time ministry when it is needed.

5. The essence of church life is mutual responsibility of Christians for Christians. This is a deduction from the unity of the Church which St. Paul treated as the essential fact, and it is fostered by charity and by habitually treating the congregation as if it were responsible for its own life.

Why is Roland Allen discussed to-day?

Roland Allen's books seem to have had little effect at the time they were first written. They are now being widely discussed. Moreover, many of his leading ideas are being canvassed independently by people who have never heard of him. For this change, three factors are mainly responsible.

Firstly "foreign missions" are on the defensive in a sense that they were not in 1912 and 1927. The elimination of missionaries from China, and the rising criticism of missions and missionaries in India and Africa, have all caused us to be much more self-critical, and have created an atmosphere in which radical criticism of assumptions and

principles receives a less impatient attention.

Secondly, the ecumenical movement and what is called "biblical theology" have strengthened among Protestants a sense of the significance of the Church, the Ministry and the Sacraments, and of the essential importance of the local congregation among Catholics. They have created in fact a situation in which we are less narrow-mindedly convinced of the total satisfactoriness of the denominational inheritance we have received, and are somewhat better prepared, both in attitude and in knowledge, to look at what all our traditions seem to lack.

Thirdly, to be frank, is the fact that we have less money and fewer men than we used to have, whether for the missions overseas or the ministry at home. This has made us readier to look at doctrines of "self-support" for the younger churches and a voluntary ministry for the older.

It is important, however, to realize that the adoption of Roland Allen's basic position is not easy; indeed, since it involves a radical change of attitudes, and even of actual practical (as distinguished from formal) beliefs about the Church, the necessary change should be faced, not only in terms of repentance and faith, but also in terms of hard thinking. It will be well to indicate some of the problems that arise.

Problems that arise

1. Dare we trust the Church; and does the Church wish to be trusted? It is argued, for example, by some of us that the responsibility and initiative with which events have now endowed the Church in China are gifts of God. The number of Chinese, however, who welcomed even this aspect of the matter was small. Most of them continued to look back with nostalgic regret to the leadership of missionaries and the arrival of mission subsidies. And, as an Anglican priest, I doubt whether many congregations in England would welcome the Pauline idea that their clergy should mainly be the people who are now the best kind of churchwarden and church councillor. There are too many things that people prefer to leave to the clergy, precisely because the clergy are felt not quite to belong, and can always move on if there is too big a row. If the congregation were really responsible with its leaders, difficult personal issues would have to be faced by the congregation itself. I write as an Anglican: but Allen poses questions for others than Anglicans.

2. Or consider another angle. Most younger churches are founded by societies with a particular version of Christianity. Are we willing to encourage the churches we have founded to seek out the meaning and riches of the faith for themselves? Dr. Parrinder's book *Religion in a West African City,* for example, shows clearly that the tendency in the independent African sects is towards a more ceremonial and liturgical kind of service than the missions have encouraged.

3. What are the fundamentals which must be handed on? Allen himself was a High Churchman (in to-day's terminology perhaps "Biblical Catholic"). He believed, deeply, in the objective reality of

the Catholic Ministry and Sacraments. His doctrines have been most influential I think among Plymouth Brethren, except for his insistence on the unity of the Church. This is merely to hint at the terms of an ecumenical problem that is not merely a matter for the traditional "churches" which meet in the World Council and the International Missionary Council and so on, but also for them and the "sects" which so far have held aloof.

The clue

4. Even if you accept Allen's thesis, how do you start implementing it, if you have a static, sterile "mission Church" with plenty of imperfectly concealed antagonisms? Here the clue will be given us by South India. Having accepted one major change in obedience to God's call—the change to unity—the Church of South India will be empowered by Him to do many other things; it has just decided to embark experimentally upon a voluntary ministry.

I can best conclude with a personal testimony. I read Allen's books carefully some three years ago in connexion with a book on missions I was then writing. Since then I have been working not overseas but in an English parish. For the purposes of this article I have read them again; and I am left with the determination that they must be read by my fellows in our congregation, and that there is much in them that is immediately relevant and practical to our domestic concerns in an English suburb.

THE END OF THE TRAIL

Our new Leper Colony at Kidugalo (E.C. Africa) ("The End of the Trail") claims a fine group of children among its patients, but Jushua (a tiny tot of three) was so upset at the thought of going home that he would not speak a word for days.

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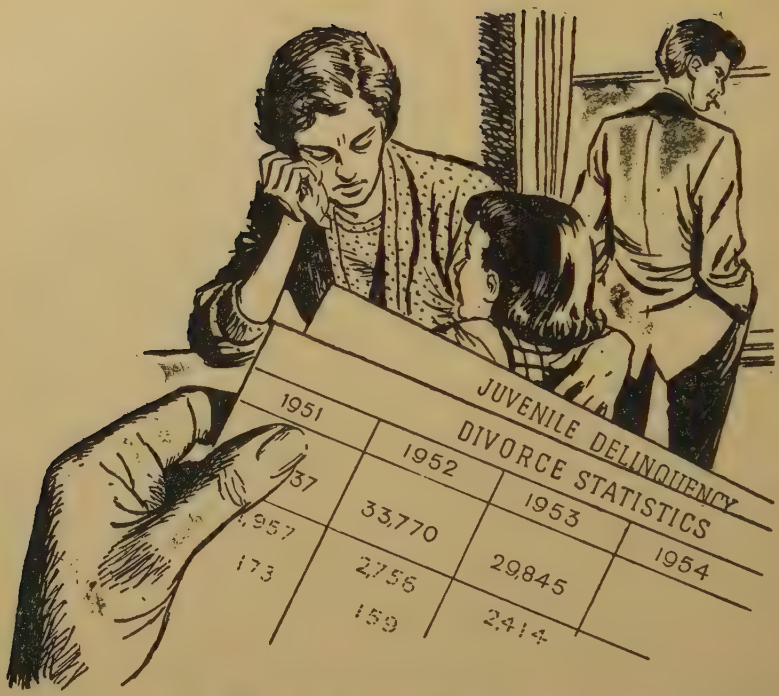

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The Salvation Army

Wings over New Guinea

HOWARD VAN DYCK

IN TERMS OF the Great Commission, "the uttermost part of the earth" is not some uninhabited area, such as the polar regions, for example. Rather it is any place occupied by human beings beyond the farthest missionary advance. And that advance need not have been limited by vast distances, but may have been halted by physical barriers or governmental prohibitions.

Certainly one of earth's uttermost parts is the Baliem Valley. Hidden deep in the interior of New Guinea, the Baliem is inhabited by primitive people whose very existence was unknown to the outside world until seventeen years ago. Yet during the week after Easter, 1954, an amphibian plane flew four times into the Baliem, landing three white men and eleven Christian tribesmen, the first missionaries ever to reach that uttermost part.

New Guinea was discovered more than four hundred years ago by a Portuguese adventurer. Thereafter its coastal regions were somewhat explored and settled. But the vast interior, with its swamps, jungles, and mountains, lay unexplored and unevangelized. On New Guinea's northern coast, near the boundary between the British and the Dutch, is the city of Hollandia. About 200 air miles south-west of Hollandia lies the Baliem Valley.

Well named the Hidden Valley, it is isolated from the outside world by a high mountain wall, the Oranje Range. Reaching skyward over ten thousand feet, some of the peaks are capped with snow, and all of them protected on the outer side by impenetrable jungles and malarial swamps. To cross these natural barriers one must travel in the trackless sky, often through curtains of concealing clouds, and into the valley by a narrow gap cut in the rim of the range.

No white man had ever seen the Hidden Valley until 1938 when the American Museum of Natural History sent an expedition under Richard Archbold to Central New Guinea seeking rare flora and fauna. Flying a twin-motored seaplane, the expedition landed on Lake Habbema, two miles above sea level, and for several months explored extensively, discovering the Hidden Valley and calling it the Grand Valley. An excellent report of this expedition together with map will be found in the American National Geographic Magazine of March, 1941.

From the air the Hidden Grand Valley shows a verdant green traversed by trails, irrigation canals and ditches, and divided into well-cultivated gardens and fields. Archbold's estimates gave it a length of eighty miles, a width of

over twenty, and a population of 60,000.

The inhabitants of the Hidden Valley are primitive stone-age people called Dani, a race which in this and other valleys totals 150,000 people. Of all the tribes of interior New Guinea, the Dani are the fiercest and most aggressive. But they are also the most intelligent. Their houses are well built and their fields and gardens are laid out in regular geometric patterns. And they did all that work with axes, knives and hoes made of sharp stones. They have no metals whatsoever.

Seven years after the Archbold expedition, white men again entered the Grand Valley. In 1945 a party of sixteen army men and eight W.A.C.s flew in a big C47 from Hollandia on the north coast of New Guinea to view the Hidden Valley from the air, but on the way out they crashed into the mountain barrier. Twenty-one perished and the three survivors were saved by a rescue party who parachuted into the valley, built an air strip and literally scooped them out in a glider forty-five days after the crash.

However, it was not this dramatic incident that inspired the Christian and Missionary Alliance to establish a mission in the Baliem. Long before that tragic news had stirred the world, air-borne discoveries of other stone-age tribes had led our workers from Borneo, in 1939, to establish a mission at Wissel Lakes in Central New Guinea. Labouring among the Kapauku and the Moni tribes around the Lakes, they met immigrants and travellers from the Uhunduni and Dani peoples from populous valleys far to the east. They found that the Dani were always described as numerous, fierce, fearless and superior. So our missionaries coveted them for Christ.

Again and again through the years, Christian and Missionary Alliance workers tried to reach the Dani, trekking through mud, swamps and tangled undergrowth, over giant boulders, fallen trees and turbulent streams. Ten years after the founding of our mission on Wissel Lakes, they established a second station three days eastward at Homejo among the Moni people. In 1951 two Alliance missionaries trekked ten days beyond Homejo to penetrate the large Ilaga Valley. They found it an important crossroads of barter, populated one-quarter by Uhunduni and three-quarters by Dani.

For countless generations the Wissel Lakes region had been an important trading centre to which men from other tribes had come over these primitive trails. Our workers discovered that the Dani had trekked from as far east as the Grand Valley, bringing their famous pigs and woven nets to trade for salt. And so the ancient, almost trackless trek was known as "the old salt trail."

In 1952 the old salt trail was for the first time covered by two white men. A Christian and Missionary Alliance missionary, together with a Dutch official and a Police Commissioner, took a party of porters through the jungles, over the high plateau within sight of snow-capped Carstenz Peak, down into the swamps and jungles silently watched over by majestic Mt. Wilhelmina, and into the valleys of Daniland.

However, their trek ended at Archbold's old Ibele River camp, five hours' walk from the Baliem's Grand Valley. The Dutch Government had not yet granted permission for missionaries to enter the Baliem. More exploration and research were needed first. Indeed, that long trek had been purposely undertaken to ascertain whether, in an emergency, escape from the Baliem could be effected overland to Wissel Lakes. That was in February, 1952. Permission to enter the Baliem was finally granted that same summer provided that the Christian and Missionary Alliance could service the area themselves.

Access to the Grand Valley overland from either coast had long been understood as completely impracticable. Land approach to the Wissel Lakes had always been possible, but by a terrible jungle trail as primitive as the stone-age inhabitants themselves. The Christian and Missionary Alliance first missionary parties had reached the Lakes by that eighteen-day ordeal. Even two missionary wives had shared the last trek. But the Dutch Government thereafter very kindly ferried our workers and supplies to the Wissel Lakes from Biak by the Navy amphibians which serviced the Government Post at the Lakes. Indeed, our entire ministry to the New Guinea stone-age tribes is greatly indebted to the splendid cooperation of the Dutch Colonial authorities.

During these years the Christian and Missionary Alliance had been servicing some of its jungle stations in Borneo by air from Makassar, beginning in 1939 with a single-engined seaplane. That air-lift saved valuable missionary time and priceless missionary lives. But by 1949 it had also taught us that similar service for both Borneo and New Guinea required a twin-engine true amphibian. It must land on a coastal airstrip, but it must also be capable of landings and take-offs on short stretches of jungle river. It must have the power for steep rise in narrow canyons, adequate capacity for station-service loans, and economical fuel consumption within the limitations of a mission treasury.

After exhaustive and comprehensive study, our choice was the *Sealand,* manufactured by Short Bros. and Harland of Belfast, Ireland, and the good ship *Gospel Messenger,* which was to land our beach-head party in the Baliem, was dedicated at Belfast in November, 1953. After extensive testing in Ireland, it was flown to Hollandia by our pilots in an epic flight of seventeen hops of about 1,000 miles each.

Near Hollandia is located the Sentani Airstrip where our plane is based and its staff reside. Our Senior Pilot, Mr. Alfred Lewis, of Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, served with distinction in the Royal Canadian Air Force during the war and piloted our seaplane and first twin-motored amphibian in Borneo. Mr. Edward Ulrich, from Meadville, Pennsylvania, our co-pilot, served overseas in the United States Air Force. Both of these men are also navigators. The plane is kept in prime condition by R. O. Lenehan. All of these men and their wives are consecrated Christians and qualified missionaries of the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

Extensive preparations were made for the final invasion of the Valley. Beside detailed planning on paper, and the packing of supplies, survey flights were made over the pass at 12,000 feet, up to Lake Habbema, two miles above sea level, then back and down into the valley, the floor of which is one mile high. Skimming fifty feet above the river, our pilots followed its serpentine course, keenly observing its sand-bars and noting its few straight stretches. Finally they chose one straight stretch, about 1,300 yards long, four miles from Archbold's Baliem River camp, to be the base of our valley operations.

The invasion party was to be led by the Rev. E. H. Mickelson, a veteran of 17 years' experience in Indonesia, most of it among the stone-age people of New Guinea, and much of it devoted to study of and search for the Dani race. Next, a first-term missionary, the Rev. Lloyd Van Stone, who had laboured at Wissel Lakes and felt definitely dedicated to work in the Baliem Valley. The third man, a young and gifted linguist, who had done extensive research on the people of New Guinea, in the Dutch language as well as English, had recently arrived in Hollandia to enter the valley, learn the Dani language, and reduce it to writing. Beside these white men there were eleven Christian Kapauku tribesmen from Wissel Lakes, among them an ordained pastor, Elisa, his wife Ruth, and their two-year-old child, Dorcas.

Early on Tuesday morning, April 20, 1954, the *Gospel Messenger,* our twin-motored amphibian plane, left Hollandia. Pilot Lewis was at the controls with co-pilot Ulrich at his side. Behind sat Elisa and Ruth with their baby. Behind them were Messrs. Mickelson and Van Stone. The plane carried only the most essential freight, including tents, lamps, radio equipment, and food for thirty days.

At exactly seven o'clock Mr Lewis taxied along the runway, checked the engines, and radio contact was established with the Sentani Airport control. At 7.12 they were airborne, at 8.16 they flew through the pass, and at 8.40 they landed on the river.

Thus far the invasion had been sky-high adventure. Now it became down-to-earth, back-breaking labour. The little party found themselves completely surrounded by water in a jungle of cane-like grass, fifteen feet tall, with cruel knife-like edges. It took all day to hack a clearing for two tents and a lane in which to string the 100-foot radio aerial.

And so the tropic night descended on the Baliem and on a missionary party very, very tired, but also very happy. By radio they heard Mr Lewis in Sentani explain that bad weather had prevented the afternoon flight, that to-morrow he would bring in Mr Bromley and two more Kapaukus, and that he hoped to get a rubber boat for them to cross the river and locate on higher ground.

Early on Wednesday morning Mr Lewis did get a rubber boat. The second flight, timed like the first, enjoyed exceptionally good visibility as far as the mountains, but found the Baliem Valley covered with clouds. Through these Mr Lewis worked his way down and flew along the valley to the beachhead, quickly landed re-

inforcements and supplies, returned to Hollandia and cabled New York that the Dani had not yet been contacted.

Our landing party knew that at least four villages were located nearby. They felt conscious that their every move was being watched. Did the silence indicate fear or hostility? At New York our headquarters officers, regarding the situation most gravely, observed a day of intercession for our Baliem beach-head.

Also vital for the landing party was the immediate need to move the camp to higher ground. While the crossing was still in progress, some Danis approached the camp, led by a chieftain, with loud wailing and tears. Mr Mickelson recognized this as the welcome peculiar to certain tribes. With the three Kapauku men he met the chief, repeating after him the greeting, "*Nahp*! *Nahp*!" and taking him by the arm. Whereupon the stone-age warrior threw his arms around the missionary and again broke into tears. There could be no question about the welcome now.

Meanwhile, across the river, over a ridge behind Van Stone, Bromley, and Ruth, there came a party of about fifteen Dani men with great long spears held upright. The chieftain at the camp shouted an order. Instantly the spears were lowered and the band joined the missionaries. In spite of black war paint on their cheek bones and tusks in their noses, their complete friendliness was apparent in their smiles. In further evidence of welcome, representatives of villages on both sides of the river soon invited the party to attend specially prepared pig-feasts.

Four trips across the river ferried all personnel and equipment to the other shore where they camped near the mouth of a tributary stream. On Thursday the plane did not come in, and the party moved about 500 yards back from the river for fear of floods. The Dani joyously guided and assisted the move without stealing a thing.

On Friday the amphibian made a flight to drop supplies without landing. The wide circle for each drop took the plane away from the river where the tribes had proved friendly, back over the foothills where the pilots saw men standing on hilltops shooting arrows at the plane.

The supplies consisted of many "free drops" from only fifty feet altitude, at a sharp angle calculated to roll upon landing, and also four drums let down from a greater altitude with parachutes. A major item dropped was a three-room tent, ten by thirty feet, into which all the supplies were gathered for the time being. The Dani helped retrieve the scattered articles, and brought everything to the camp. In view of their reputation for theft, this was supreme proof of the sincerity of their welcome. That sincerity was maintained by the river tribes, but the hill people demonstrated their light-fingered cleverness with some professional pride.

On Saturday, on the fourth flight, the plane brought in seven more Kapaukus and their supply of rice. Thereafter the plane came only once a week, but daily the party thrilled to hear Mr Lewis on the radio saying, "This is Comma Sentani calling Comma Shangri-La!"

During the days that followed all three missionaries sought to make friendly contacts with the local inhabitants and to learn their language, but each also had his own respective responsibilities. Mr Mickelson fared farther afield, making surveys to ascertain the extent and distribution of the population and the routes to Lake Habbema and other tribes. Mr Van Stone examined the terrain, seeking a suitable location for the station, and started building. Mr Bromley spent days and even nights in the villages, acquiring a vocabulary and imitating the strange sounds.

In June Mr Mickelson and some of the Kapaukus, absent two weeks on an extended survey, returned having met hostility among the hill-people, some of whom had sought to rob and detain them. But as Mr Mickelson prayed aloud, the fear of God fell upon the would-be attackers. In July a feud broke out between the hill-people and the river tribe, with a killing right at the gate of our camp. Only after extended palaver and payment of pigs was peace restored.

Our description of the verdant valley, in its romantic isolation, might easily mislead some to suppose that its inhabitants are child-like souls living in idyllic simplicity. But the experiences of our explorer missionaries prove the opposite to be true. The Dani are friendly when they want to be. But their fundamental characteristics are craft and cruelty, implacable hatred of neighbouring tribes, and incessant dread of surrounding devils.

In case of bereavement they mutilate themselves, cutting off a finger or an ear, in order to appease the evil spirits and stifle their own grief. The look of hopelessness on their faces reflects the darkness of their souls and the despair of their hearts.

But other tribesmen—also of the stone age, whose languages had been equally unknown and who had been just as ignorant and degraded as these Dani—had been transformed by the power of the Gospel. Indeed, our rescue team in the Baliem Valley consisted of some of those very miracles of grace and the missionaries who had helped their transformation.

If the people proved unpredictable, much more did the weather, particularly the rainfall. After heavy rains up-stream flash floods make the Baliem a raging torrent dangerous for our amphibian. But quite unexpectedly, from late June to early November and again in December, the water was so low that our pilots dared not attempt to land on the river.

Radio contact was maintained with Hollandia and periodic drop flights brought in mail and supplies. By God's grace all in our camp kept in health, and peace reigned among the tribal neighbours. Of course a landing on Lake Habbema is always possible as a last resort, but it is felt that either a dam or an air-strip should be built in the valley. The strip built in 1945 to rescue the crash victims was suitable only for gliders and not for a heavy ship.

In January the water rose and landings were resumed. A government party and Mr and Mrs Rose flew in. This visit made Mrs Rose the first woman missionary to enter the Valley. In January also our plane carried into the Baliem

Valley some missionaries and native carriers of the Unevangelized Fields Mission, who are planning to open a mission-station near Lake Archbold across the Oranje Range. They plan to trek overland from the Baliem and will be serviced by air-drops.

Our missionaries in the Baliem are steadily visiting more and more villages in all directions, and have made good progress in building and speaking. Mr Bromley marvellously acquired enough of the Dani language to be able to hold their intense interest while he preached to them, and they kept a reverent silence when he prayed to God. The success of the expedition owes much to the powerful, sturdy plane and much more to its expert handling under most difficult conditions by our consecrated, experienced pilots. But most of all we humbly and devoutly acknowledge the good hand of God upon the plans, preparations, and execution of this venture of faith, in answer to the earnest intercession of a vast multitude of self-effacing servants of the Lord.

Ten years ago the rescue of the three survivors in the Baliem Valley required a miniature Army and Air Force and the poured-out wealth of a great government. Today the rescue of 60,000 Dani from the bondage of evil is also an extremely costly operation, and will require the sacrificial support of God's faithful stewards here at home. But more, amid the lurking dangers of the Valley, we earnestly beseech your prayers as a spiritual air-lift to maintain and protect this frontier of faith.

Latest news

Sealand Plane Missing

ALTHOUGH EVERY EFFORT has been made to find the Sealand plane, which was lost with our pilot, Mr. A. J. Lewis, on the 28th April, there have been no results. After eight days of searching by KLM, Navy and MAF planes, it was planned to send a land expedition into the area where the plane was believed to have crashed. Mrs. Van Stone and children and Mrs. Rose and child were evacuated from the Baliem by the Missionary Aviation Fellowship. The men are remaining.

—The *Alliance Weekly*,
25 May, 1955.

The world to-day

E. J. BINGLE

Islam and Christianity in Indonesia

A RECENT VISITOR to Indonesia with experience of missionary work in the Near East has commented on the moving experience of meeting with Christian congregations in Indonesia which consisted of Christian converts from Islam and their children. Thus a morning service, in a large city church seating over 900 people, was full and was the first of four services on Sunday in that church. The large part taken by young people in these services was also marked. Christian leaders in Indonesia are seeking still more effective ways of presenting Christ to Muslims. Islam in that area differs markedly, however, from its more orthodox form in the Near East. It is more syncretistic, having come to terms with Javanese paganism and Hindu mysticism. At the same time Muslim groups are seeking political power and trying to equate Islam with Indonesian nationalism. Where orthodox Islam is strong, the encounter with Christianity is a different matter, as in Sumatra, where the great Batak Church comes from a pagan, not an Islamic background. Nevertheless in Java, at any rate, Muslim intellectuals and some prominent persons ("not many mighty") are being won to Christ, as well as more humble Muslims.

The New Villages in Malaya

The policy of the government of Malaya in resettling many inhabitants, mostly Chinese, in new village groups, partly as a protection against Communist infiltration and attack, partly as a control on the villagers themselves, and allowing Christian work in these new villages, has now been carried on for several years. The policy has met with serious difficulties but it has been actively pursued. Christian missions have taken up the challenge of the "new villages." It is reported that there is Christian work in half of the new villages, with 160 resident workers and 150 voluntary workers. Roman Catholics are said to be at work in some 100 villages and there is other Christian work going on in another twenty of these new communities. Medical work is carried on, Sunday-schools have been started and there are some village churches, with a Christian community of about 800. There have been over 300 baptisms in the last three years; 169 adults and 33 children were added to the Church by baptism in 1954. There is still opportunity in these new areas and the Malayan Christian Council and the other bodies concerned are anxious to expand this work.

An Asian Church on Communism

The Synod of the Christian Evangelical Church of Minahasa in Indonesia recently issued a pastoral letter on Communism to its congregations. Since the Communists are still very active in this region, it may be of interest to quote some passages addressed to Christians living where Communism is a very live option. Indeed the letter states that some Christians have been influenced by Communism and that many church members have been made uncertain by Communist tendencies. Thus the Synod is moved to declare that: "The Church plainly rejects Communism, because its doctrine as well as its methods are clearly in conflict with the will of God, which is revealed in the witness of the Bible."

It goes on to add:

> But the Church may not take a standpoint of only rejecting. The Church rejects Communism because it has a positive message, namely, the Gospel of Jesus Christ. A message of salvation and freedom for all men, also especially for the weak ones, for the have-nots, for the oppressed and those who are treated with no regard for basic rights . . . It is the Lord's will that man shall have life, freedom, truth, justice and peace. Therefore it is the duty of every church-member, wherever he may be, to work to erect these tokens of the Kingdom of God in the midst of society.

These are bracing words which should be pondered deeply in many other churches besides the church in Minahasa.

Revival in South India

From the Coimbatore diocese of the Church of South India there is news of revival which has spread widely through the diocese. An account of the progress of this revival has been published by the Bishop in Coimbatore, Dr. A. J. Appasamy, in a pamphlet entitled *Behold, I Stand at the Door and Knock*. It has been inspired to some extent by the work of that veteran evangelist Dr. Edwin Orr, by the campaigns of Dr. Billy Graham, and by the example of the East African Revival. Two of the leaders from East Africa, Dr. Joe Church and an African evangelist, have visited the diocese and told the story of that remarkable movement which has made such a bold stand in the face of savage hostility. In addition there have been campaigns by a team of American visitors including Dr. Glenn Clark and Pastor and Mrs. Roland Brown of Chicago, who are to visit the diocese again this year. There have been remarkable spiritual experiences and renewal of life within the Church, as well as witness to those outside. But the main work has rested and must continue to rest on the local pastors, teachers and ordinary members of congregations; the work of revival has by no means been completed even within the churches of that area and revival is not an end in itself.

It is of interest to note that the diocese of Coimbatore was the last of the dioceses of the Church of South India to be formed, as this area did not decide to join the united Church till some years after its inauguration in 1947. It was largely drawn from churches founded by the London Missionary Society and therefore congregationalist in character, but it includes both ex-Anglicans (high and low)

and ex-Methodists. The Bishop was an Anglican scholar, well known for his studies on Sadhu Sundar Singh and on Indian theology. The movement has not been merely church-related but has been actively developed by the Church through its regular organizations under the leadership of Bishop Appasamy.

The Untouchables

It is sometimes naïvely assumed that untouchability has disappeared in India since the campaigns of Mahatma Gandhi, the coming of Independence and subsequent legislation by the new State. It was declared unlawful in the Constitution, and recent legislation in Delhi will make the practice of it a criminal offence. Yet the problem and the disabilities largely remain. The London *Times* (2nd and 3rd May) has called attention to this situation in a pair of articles largely based on the reports of the commissioner " for scheduled castes and tribes "—India has invented a series of euphemisms for the old name, but the facts largely remain. These " untouchables " number probably about 54 millions: a great many measures of alleviation have been enacted, both before and since Independence, but the massive problem is that Hinduism has rested on untouchability, and its radical removal would involve the abolition of caste and the break-up of Hindu society. They have been the object of much religious effort; a large proportion of the membership of Christian churches of India is of untouchable origin; the Buddhists (who are few in India) have paid them some attention, and at one time even the Sikhs did so. Legislation can do only a limited amount; the popular campaigns initiated by Gandhi have ceased since Independence; the Communists have devoted much effort towards them, especially in the Andhra province, but if the recent elections are any guide, their influence is rather less than was thought. Material inventions may bring about social changes which may by-pass some of their occupations, but the problem of untouchability, as with *apartheid,* is in the last resort one of human valuation and dignity.

African Village Life

An account of some 2,000 Christians in one of the Portuguese colonies in Africa suggested that many of the material and moral requirements for Christian living in the African community were very far to seek. Disease, inadequate and contaminated water - supply, illiteracy, lack of co-operation, bad diet, the problem of girls' education, lack of church equipment, all contribute to a poor level of Christian witness. By co-operation between missions over a large area it is sought to attack these evils, not one at a time but on a common front by persuading the villagers that improvement is possible, by talks and demonstrations by combined teams of Africans and missionaries (in this case Americans and Canadians), by collecting and translating and printing and distributing material on any of these main themes, by enlisting village leaders to train in any one of the many subjects such as health, sanitation, housekeeping, agriculture, family life, co-operative societies, adult education and literacy, village church work. Such things have

been done elsewhere, in Africa and outside, sometimes more comprehensively, but the urgent need is that they should be done comprehensively, in such a way as the African village Christian—and the Christian African village—can see that Christian living does issue in new ways of living both for the individual and for the community, as a witness to the faith they have embraced.

Other Colour Bars

The spot-light of publicity has been concentrated on South Africa to such a degree that it is often forgotten that there are other colour-bars outside South Africa in which British people have more direct responsibility. One such area is the copper-belt of Northern Rhodesia where strikes and commissions and reports have been the order of the day. The situation is curiously complex, since it is the employers who are anxious to secure more opportunities of African advancement; the African workers in their unions are less concerned with advancement, since the numbers affected are relatively few, but with a higher rate of wages within the existing limits; the European trade union, which has a monopoly of the more responsible grades of employment, has resisted the proposals of the employers only indirectly, by the slogan of "equal pay and all conditions for equal work," which would probably rule out most if not all Africans. The governments of Northern Rhodesia, the new Central Africa Federation, as well as the Colonial Office in Whitehall, have varying degrees of responsibility in this matter. Moreover these things now happen in the glare of world-opinion, in Africa and Asia and in the United Nations, which may find it difficult to distinguish between one colour-bar and another, however subtly they may be defended.

Roman Catholic Reactions

The Roman Catholic Church is usually regarded, especially by Protestants, as a massive, centrally organized body which speaks with one voice and obeys one central direction. There is a good deal of truth in this, but even such a massive organization must remain flexible in order to survive; in many places, such as China, it has to face the same situations as Protestants and tends to react in much the same way.

Its day-to-day tactics are variable. In Italy the courts (which do not speak for the Church, though Roman Catholicism is the sole religion of the State) have granted permission to the pentecostalist Assemblies of God to hold services, take collections and perform marriages, against the action or inaction of the Government. A similar ban was lifted two years ago in the case of the Church of Christ. But religious liberty in any full sense does not yet exist in Italy.

In Spain the most vocal antagonist of Spanish Protestants, the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, appears to have fallen foul of the Government and the Vatican, and steps are being sought to displace him in some way: the incident raises the old historical problem of the Inquisition in Spain—did the Church use the State or the State use the Church for its own purposes? Meanwhile the

petty persecution of Protestants in Spain continues — fines and imprisonment for reading the Bible together, for holding an unauthorized baptismal service. When applications for permission to worship are made, they are refused and Christian worship thus becomes illegal.

In Argentina the close alliance of the Church with General Perón seems to have ended, and there have been attacks on Catholic activities and persons; whether the Church has ceased to be useful to the dictator or whether its activities in regard to trade unions have been a danger to the régime are still matters in dispute, but they illustrate the violent and sudden fluctuations to which dictatorships and totalitarian States seem to be liable. Meanwhile Protestant mass-evangelism seems to be as popular in Argentina as it is in Britain at the moment.

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